This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

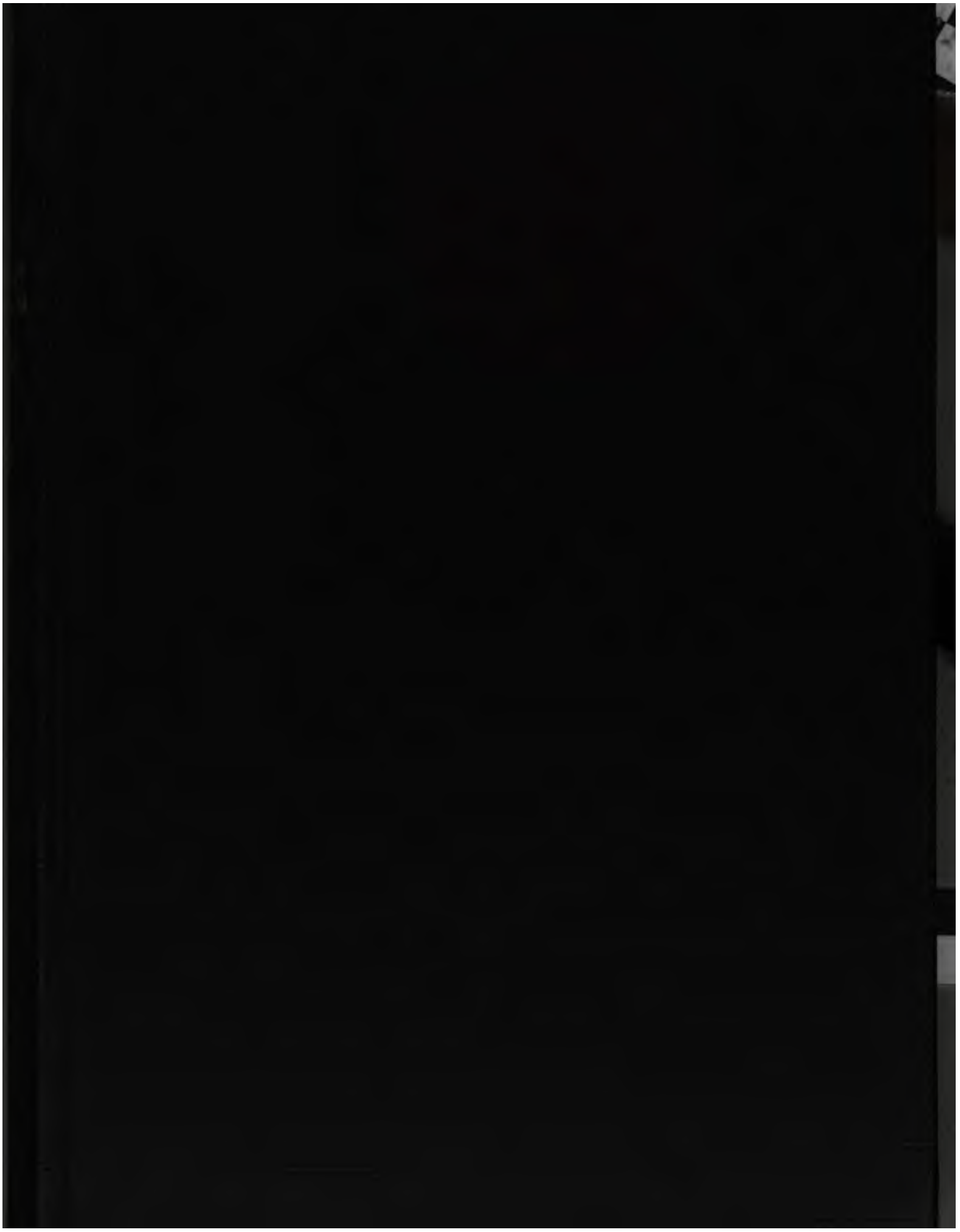
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

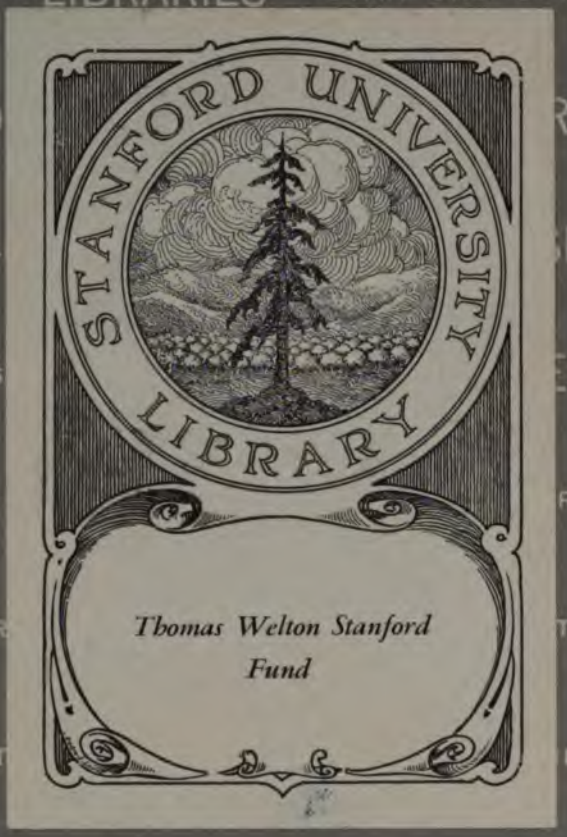
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`




STANFORD UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
Thomas Welton Stanford
Fund

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Woodward's

Historical Series.

No. VII.

THE

Witchcraft Delusion

IN

NEW ENGLAND:

ITS

RISE, PROGRESS, AND TERMINATION,

AS EXHIBITED BY

DR. COTTON MATHER,

IN

THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD;

AND BY

MR. ROBERT CALEF,

IN HIS

MORE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD.

WITH A

Preface, Introduction, and Notes.

BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

More Wonders of the Invisible World.

PRINTED FOR W. ELLIOT WOODWARD,
ROXBURY, MASS.
MDCCCLXVI.

1866
STANFORD LIBRARY
S+

No.——

Entered according to Act of Congress in the Year 1865,
By SAMUEL G. DRAKE,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States
for the District of Massachusetts.

226965

EDITION 70 COPIES ROYAL 8VO.

MUNSELL, PRINTER.

STANFORD LIBRARY

[90] MORE WONDERS

OF THE

INVISIBLE WORLD.

PART V.

An Impartial Account of the moſt Memorable Matters of Fact, touching the ſuppoſed Witchcraft in New-England.

MR. *PARRIS*[1] had been ſome years a Miniſter in *Salem-Village*, when this ſad Calamity (as a deluge) overflowed them, ſpreading

[1] The following Entry is in the Hand-writing of Mr. Parris on his *Church Records:* "It is well known that when theſe Calamities firſt began, which was in my own Family, the Affliction was ſeveral Weeks before ſuch helliſh Operations as Witchcraft was ſuſpected; Nay, it never broke forth to any conſiderable Light, until diabolical Means was uſed, by the making of a Cake by my Indian Man [John], who had his Directions from this our Sifter Mary Sibly. Since which Apparitions have been plenty, and exceeding much Miſchief hath followed. But by this Means (it ſeems) the Devil hath been raiſed amongſt us, and his Rage is vehement and terrible; and when he ſhall be ſilenced, the Lord only knows."—*Hanſon's Hiſt. Danvers*, 289. As will be ſeen, Mr. Parris was made Scribe at the Examination.

itſelf far and near: He was a Gentleman of Liberal Education, and not meeting with any great Encouragement, or Advantage in Merchandizing, to which for ſome time he apply'd himſelf, betook himſelf to the work of the Miniſtry; this Village being then vacant, he met with ſo much Encouragement, as to ſettle in that Capacity among them.

After he had been there about two years, he obtained a Grant from a part of the Town, that the Houſe and Land he Occupied, and which had been Alotted by the whole People to the Miniſtry, ſhould be and remain to him, *&c.* as his own Eſtate in Fee Simple. This occaſioned great *Diviſions* both between the Inhabitants themſelves, and between a conſiderable part of them and their ſaid Miniſter, which Diviſions were but as a beginning or *Præludium* to what immediately followed.

It was the latter end of *February* 1691,[2] when divers young Perſons belonging to Mr. *Parris's* Family, and one or more of the Neighbourhood, began to [91] Act, after a ſtrange & unuſual manner, *viz.* as by getting into Holes, and creeping under Chairs and Stools, and to uſe ſundry odd Poſtures and Antick Geſtures, uttering fooliſh, ridiculous Speeches, which neither they

[2] It is remarkable that this Caſe ſhould not be noticed in the *Wonders of the Inviſible World.* It is told in Lawon's *Narrative, Page* 3. See alſo *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, 49, where by Parris's Depoſition, his Age is ſtated at "Thirty and nine."

themſelves nor any others could make ſenſe of; the Phyſicians[3] that were called could aſſign no reaſon for this; but it ſeems one of them, having recourſe to the old ſhift, told them he was afraid they were Bewitched; upon ſuch ſuggeſtions, they that were concerned, applied themſelves to Faſting and Prayer, which was attended not only in their own private Families, but with calling in the help of others.

March the 11*th.* Mr. *Parris* invited ſeveral Neighbouring Miniſters to join with him in keeping a Solemn day of Prayer at his own Houſe; the time of the exerciſe thoſe Perſons were for the moſt part ſilent, but after any one Prayer was ended, they would Act and Speak ſtrangely and Ridiculouſly, yet were ſuch as had been well Educated and of good Behaviour, the one a Girl of 11 or 12 years old, would ſometimes ſeem to be in a *Convulſion* Fit, her Limbs being twiſted ſeveral ways, and very ſtiff, but preſently her Fit would be over.

A few days before this Solemn day of Prayer, Mr. *Parris's Indian* Man and Woman made a Cake of Rye Meal, with the Childrens Water, and Baked it in the Aſhes, and as is ſaid, gave it to the Dog; this was done as a means to Diſcover Witchcraft; ſoon after which thoſe ill

[3] None of the Accounts give the Names of the "Phyſicians." "One or two of the Firſt that were Afflicted, Complaining of unuſual Illneſs their Relations uſed Phyſic for their *Cure*, but it was altogether in vain."—*Lawſon, Second Edition*, 97-8.

affected or afflicted Perſons named ſeveral that they ſaid they ſaw, when in their Fits, afflicting of them.

The firſt complain'd of, was the ſaid *Indian* Woman, named *Tituba*,[4] ſhe confeſſed that the *Devil* urged her to ſign a Book, which he preſented to her, and alſo to work Miſchief to the Children, *&c.* She was afterwards Committed to Priſon, and lay there till Sold for her Fees. The account ſhe ſince gives of it is, that her Maſter did beat her and otherways abuſe her, to make her confeſs and accuſe (ſuch as he call'd) her Siſter-Witches, and that whatſoever ſhe ſaid by way of confeſſing or accuſing others, was the effect of ſuch uſage; her Maſter refuſed to pay her Fees, unleſs ſhe would ſtand to what ſhe had ſaid.

The Children complained likewiſe of two other Women, to be the Authors of their Hurt, *Viz. Sarah Good*, who had long been counted a *Melancholy* or *Diſtracted* Woman, and one *Oſburn*, an Old *Bed-rid* Women, which two were Perſons ſo ill thought of, that the accuſation was the more readily believed; and after Examination before two *Salem* Magiſtrates were committed:[5]

[4] She is ſaid to have been a Slave, formerly in New Spain. When arreſted and searched, the Marks on her Body produced by the Sting of the Spaniard's Whip, were ſaid to be made by the Devil.—*Hanſon, Hiſt. Danvers*, 273. Her firſt Examination was on the 1ſt of March, 1691-2. It occupies four full Pages of Foolſcap, and is in the Editor's poſſeſſion, and has never been publiſhed. There is no copy at Salem, probably, as it does not appear in Mr. Woodward's Publication.

[5] The two Magiſtrates were John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin.

March the 19*th*, Mr. *Lawſon* (who had been formerly a Preacher at the ſaid Village) came thither, and hath ſince ſet forth in Print an account of what then paſſed, about which time, as he ſaith, they complained of Goodwife *Cory*, and Goodwife *Nurſe*, Members of Churches at the Village, and at *Salem*, many others being by that time Accuſed.

March the 21*ſt*, Goodwife *Cory*[6] was examined before the Magiſtrates of *Salem*, at the Meeting Houſe in the Village, a throng of Spectators being preſent to ſee the Novelty. Mr. *Noyes*,[7] one of the Miniſters of *Salem* began with Prayer, after which the Priſoner being call'd, in order to anſwer to what [92] ſhould be Alledged againſt

William Allen, John Hughes, William Good and Samuel Braybrook were Witneſſes againſt Sarah Good. Allen ſwore, that on the 1ſt of March, in the Night, he ſaw a ſtrange and unuſual Beaſt lying on the Ground, which, when he came up to it, it vaniſhed away; and in the Place thereof, ſtarted up two or three Women, who fled, though not as other Women, and ſoon vaniſhed out of Sight. It was about an Hour within Night, and he took the Women to be Sarah Good, Sarah Oſborn, and Tittabe. John Hughes was with him and ſwore likewiſe. See *Records S. W.*, i, 38, where much more of the ſame Tenor may be ſeen.

[6] Martha Cory was witneſſed againſt by Edward Putnam and Henry Keney, at the Commencement; and the Mittimus ſets forth that ſhe is the Wife of Giles Cory, of Salem Farms. At the ſame Time were committed Rebecka Nurſe, Wife of Francis Nurſe, of Salem Village, Huſbandman; Dorothy Good, Daughter of William Good; Sarah Cloyce, the Wife of Peter Cloyce, of Salem Village; John Proctor, of Salem Farms, and Elizabeth his Wife. They were charged with afflicting Ann Putnam, Daughter of Thomas Putnam, Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Hubbard, and others.

[7] Nicholas Noyes was Son of Nicholas Noyes, of Newbury, a Graduate of H. C., 1667, and died in 1717. He was one of the ſevereſt Inſtigators of the Proceedings againſt the accuſed Perſons. He was ſettled in Salem in 1683.

her, ſhe deſired that ſhe might go to Prayer, and was anſwered by the Magiſtrates, that they did not come to hear her pray, but to examine her.

The number of the Afflicted were at that time about Ten, *Viz.* Mrs. *Pope*, Mrs. *Putman*, goodwife *Bibber*,[8] and Goodwife *Goodall*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Mercy Lewes* (at *Thomas Putmans*) and Dr. *Griggs* Maid, and three Girls, *Viz. Elizabeth Parris*, Daughter to the Miniſter, *Abigail Williams* his Neice, and *Ann Putman*, which laſt three, were not only the beginners, but were alſo the chief in theſe Accuſations.[9] Theſe Ten were

[8] Indifferently written in the Records *Bibber* and *Vibber*. The true Name appears to be *Bibber*. Sarah Bibber, in her Teſtimony againſt Sarah Good, gives her Age as 36. She gave Evidence againſt nine Perſons at different Times. Not much has been found about her beyond her own Teſtimony. She appears to have had a Huſband, who had the Prefix Goodman. At one Time ſhe and her Huſband lived at the Houſe of Joſeph Fowler. Fowler gave her a bad Character; as given to Tattling and Miſchief-making; would call her Huſband bad Names, was "of a very turbulent, unruly Spirit." Alſo Thomas Jacobs and his Wife Mary, ſaid that "Good Bibbor did for a Time ſurgine [ſojourn] in their Houſe;" that ſhe "uery often ſpeke-ing againſt one and nother uery obſanely, and wichſhing [wiſhing] uery bad wichchis, and uery often. She wichs that when hor chill [child] fell into the Reuer that ſhe had neuer pull hor child out." That ſhe made ill Wiſhes againſt everybody and herſelf too. "The nayborhud were ſhe liueued amonkes aftor ſhe bered hor fuſt houſbon hes tolld us that this John Bibber Wife coud fall into fitts as ſhe pleſed."—*Records S. W.*, ii, 204-5.

Neither Felt nor Savage appear to have met with either the Name of *Bibber* or *Vibber*.

[9] "It was ſeveral Times obſerved, that when they were diſcourſed with about GOD or CHRIST, or the Things of *Salvation*, they were preſently afflicted at a dreadful Rate, and hence were oftentimes *Outragious*, if they were permitted to be in the Congregation, in the Time of the Publick Worſhip."—*Lawſon, Second Edit.*, 98.

"On Lord's Day, the 20th of *March* were ſundry of the afflicted Perſons at Meeting, as Mrs. *Pope* [Wife of Mr. Joſeph P.], Good-

moſt of them preſent at the Examination, and did vehemently accuſe her of Afflicting them, by Biting, Pinching, Strangling, *&c.* And they ſaid, they did in their Fits ſee her likeneſs coming to them, and bringing a Book for them to Sign; Mr. *Hathorn*, a Magiſtrate of *Salem*, aſked her, why ſhe Afflicted thoſe Children? ſhe ſaid, ſhe did not Afflict them, he aſked her who did then? ſhe ſaid, I do not know, how ſhould I know? ſhe ſaid, they were Poor Diſtracted Creatures, and no heed to be given to what they ſaid; Mr. *Hathorn* and Mr. *Noyes* replied that it was the Judgment of all that were there preſent, that they were bewitched, and only ſhe (the Accuſed) ſaid they were Diſtracted: She was Accuſed by them, that the *Black Man* Whiſpered to her in her Ear now

wife *Bibber*, *Abigail Williams*, *Mary Walcut*, *Mary Lewes*, and Doctor *Grigg's* Maid. There was alſo at Meeting Goodwife C. [Cory] (who was afterward Examined on Suſpicion of being a *Witch:*) They had ſeveral ſore Fits, in the Time of Publick Worſhip, which did ſomething interrupt me in my firſt Prayer; being ſo unuſual. After Pſalm was Sung *Abigail Williams* ſaid to me, *Now ſtand up*, and *Name your Text!* And after it was read, ſhe ſaid, *It is a long Text.* In the beginning of Sermon, Mrs. *Pope*, a Woman afflicted, ſaid to me, *Now there is enough of that.* And in the Afternoon, *Abigail Williams*, upon my referring to my *Doctrine*, ſaid to me, *I know no Doctrine you had, if you did name one, I have forgot it.* In Sermon Time when Goodwife C. was preſent *Ab. W.* called out, *Look where Goodwife C. ſits on the Beam ſuck[l]ing her Yellow Bird betwixt her Fingers! Anne Putman*, another Girle afflicted, *ſaid there was a Yellow Bird ſat on my Hat as it hung on the Pin in the Pulpit!* But thoſe that were by reſtrained her from ſpeaking loud about it." —*Lawſon, Firſt Edition*, Pages 3 and 4.

This, as will have been noticed, is the Account of an Eye Witneſs.

(while ſhe was upon Examination) and that ſhe had a Yellow Bird, that did uſe to Suck between her Fingers, and that the ſaid Bird did Suck now in the Aſſembly; order being given to look in that place to ſee if there were any ſign, the Girl that pretended to ſee it ſaid, that it was too late now, for ſhe had removed a Pin, and put it on her Head, it was upon ſearch found, that a Pin was there ſticking upright. When the Accuſed had any motion of their Body, Hands or Mouth, the Accuſers would cry out, as when ſhe bit a Lip, they would cry out of being bitten, if ſhe graſped one hand with the other, they would cry out of being Pinched by her, and would produce marks, ſo of the other motions of her Body, as complaining of being Preſt, when ſhe lean'd to the ſeat next her, if ſhe ſtirred her Feet, they would ſtamp and cry out of Pain there. After the hearing the ſaid *Cory* was committed to *Salem* Priſon, and then their crying out of her abated.

March the 24*th*, Goodwife *Nurſe* was brought before Mr. *Hathorn* and Mr. *Curwin* (Magiſtrates) in the Meeting Houſe, Mr. *Hale* Miniſter of *Beverly*, began with Prayer, after which ſhe being Accuſ'd of much the ſame Crimes made the like anſwers, aſſerting her own Innocence with earneſtneſs. The Accuſers were moſtly the ſame, *Tho Putmans* Wife, *&c.* complaining much. The dreadful Shreiking from her and others, was very

amazing, which was heard at a great diſtance; ſhe was alſo Committed to Priſon.[10]

A Child of *Sarah Goods*, was likewiſe apprehended, being between 4 and 5 years Old, the Accuſers ſaid this Child bit them, and would ſhew ſuch like marks, as thoſe of a ſmall Sett of Teeth upon their Arms, as many of the Afflicted

[10] The Warrant for the Apprehenſion of Rebecca Nurſe is dated 23 March, 169½. The Day following, the Marſhal George Herrick, made his Return, that he had brought her to the houſe of *Nath. Ingerſal*, where ſhe was in Cuſtody. The Witneſſes were Ann Puttnam, Jr., Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, and Elizabeth Hubbard. Mary Walcott's Age was about 17; Elizabeth Hubbard's alſo about 17. Nothing could be too abominable for theſe Miſcreants to make up and ſwear to. Mary Walcott ſaid, among other things, that beſides being "moſt greviouſly afflicted by" being bitten, pinched, and almoſt choked by the Priſoner, becauſe ſhe would not write in her Book, Goody N ſaid ſhe would kill her if ſhe did not; and on the 3d of May, in the Evening the Apparition of the Priſoner told her "ſhe had an Hand in the Deaths of Benjamin Holton, John Harrod, Rebekah Sheppard and ſeuerall others."

Abigail Williams's Teſtimony is much the ſame She heard the Accuſed confeſs (by her Apparition) the committing of ſeveral Murders, together with her Siſter Cloyſe; as upon old Goodm: Hanvood, Benj. Porter and Rebek: Shepard. . . ." Sarah Vibber, Mr. Sam: Parris, N. Ingerſoll and T. Putnam alſo teſtified againſt the poor aged Woman. Putnam's Age was about 40; Parris's, as before mentioned, about 39. John Putnam, Sen. (another Wit.) aged about 63. Edwd. Putnam, another, aged about 30. Another, Sarah Holton, relict of Benj. Holton. Another, Ann Putnam, Wife of Thomas, ſwore to the choking by the Accuſed, and to her declaring ſhe would kill her, and ſaid ſhe had killed Benj. Holton, John Fuller and Rebekah Shepard; alſo that ſhe and her Siſter Cloyſe and Ed: Biſhop had killed young John Putnam's Child. . . . . "Immediately there did appear to me ſix Children in Winding-ſheets, which called me Aunt. . . . . Told me they were my Siſter Baker's Children of Boſton; and that Goody Nurs, and Miſtris Cary of Charleſtown, and an old deaf Woman at Boſton had murthered them. . . . . Alſo there appeared to me my own Siſter Bayley and three of her Children in Winding-ſheets, and told me Goody Nurſ had murthered them." This was all taken as good and ſufficient Teſtimony!

as the Child caſt its Eye upon, would complain they were in Torment; which Child they alſo Committed.

Concerning theſe that had been hitherto Examined and Committed, it is [93] among other things obſerved, by Mr. *Lawſon* (in Print[11]) that they were by the Accuſers charged, to belong to a Company that did muſter in Arms, and were reported by them to keep Days of Faſt, Thankſgiving and Sacraments; and that thoſe Afflicted (or Accuſers) did in the Aſſembly, Cure each other, even with a touch of their hand, when ſtrangled and otherways tortured, and would endeavour to get to the Afflicted to relieve them thereby (for hitherto they had not uſed the Experiment of bringing the Accuſed to touch the Afflicted, in order to their Cure) and could foretell one anothers Fits to be coming, and would ſay, look to ſuch a one, ſhe will have a Fit preſently and ſo it happened, and that at the ſame time when the Accuſed perſon was preſent, the Afflicted ſaid they ſaw her *Spectre* or likeneſs in other places of the Meeting Houſe Sucking [suckling] their Familiars.

The ſaid Mr. *Lawſon* being to Preach at the Village, after the Pſalm was Sung, *Abigail Williams* ſaid, *Now ſtand up and name your Text;* after it was read, ſhe ſaid, *It is a long Text.* Mrs. *Pope* in the beginning of Sermon ſaid to him, *Now there is*

[11] This Reference is to the firſt Edition of Lawſon's Work, *A Brief and True Narrative, &c.* His Account is given in Note 9.

enough of that. In Sermon, he referring to his Doctrine, *Abigail Williams* ſaid to him, *I know no Doctrine you had, if you did name one I have forgot it.* *Ann Putman* an afflicted Girl, ſaid, *There was a Yellow Bird ſate on his Hat as it hung on the Pin in the Pulpit.*[12]

March 31, 1692. Was ſet apart as a day of Solem Humiliation at *Salem*, upon the Account of this Buſineſs, on which day *Abigail Williams* ſaid, *That ſhe ſaw a great number of Perſons in the Village at the Adminiſtration of a Mock Sacrament, where they had Bread as read as raw Fleſh, and red Drink.*[13]

April 1. *Mercy Lewis* affirmed, *That ſhe ſaw a man in White, with whom ſhe went into a Glorious Place,* viz. in her fits, *where was no Light of the Sun, much leſs of Candles, yet was full of Light and Brightneſs, with a great Multitude in White Glittering Robes, who Sang the Song in* Rev. v. 9. *and the* cx. *and* cxlix. Pſalms; *And was given that ſhe might tarry no longer in this place.* This White Man is ſaid to have appeared ſeveral times to others of them, and to have given them notice how long it ſhould be before they ſhould have another Fit.[14]

April the 3*d.* Being Sacrament Day at the Village, *Sarah Cloys*, Siſter to Goodwife *Nurſe*, a

[12] Lawſon, *Firſt Edition*, Page 4.

[13] Lawſon, Page 8. The Words "*at a Houſe in the Village*," are in the Original, which ſhows that the Witch-meeting was in that part of Salem ſince Danvers.

[14] This Affair of the 1ſt of April, is an Abridgement of Lawſon, Page 8, but nothing important to the preſent Purpoſe is omitted.

Member of one of the Churches, was (tho' it ſeems with difficulty prevailed with to be) preſent; but being entred the place, and Mr. *Parris* naming his Text, *John* vi. 70. *Have not I choſen you Twelve, and one of you is a Devil* (for what cauſe may reſt as a doubt whether upon the account of her Siſters being committed, or becauſe of the choice of that Text) ſhe roſe up and went out, the wind ſhutting the Door forcibly, gave occaſion to ſome to ſuppoſe ſhe went out in Anger, and might occaſion a ſuſpicion of her; However ſhe was ſoon after complain'd of, examin'd and committed.[15]

April the 11*th*. By this time the number of the Accuſed and Accuſers being much increaſed, was a Public Examination at *Salem*, Six of the Magiſtrates with ſeveral Miniſters being preſent, there appeared ſeveral who complain'd againſt others with hidious clamors and Screechings. Goodwife *Proctor*[16] was brought thither, being

[15] The following is the Relation by Lawſon, given in his own Words, that the Reader may judge of his accuracy: "The 3d of *April*, the Lord's Day, being Sacrament Day, at the Village, *Good. C.*, upon Mr. *Parris's* naming his Text, *John*, 6, 70. *One of them is a Devil*, the ſaid Good. *C.* went immediately out of the Meetinghouſe, and flung the door after her violently, to the amazement of the Congregation: She was afterwards ſeen by ſome in their Fits, who ſaid, *O Goodw. C. I did not think to ſee you here!* (and being at their *red bread and drink*) ſaid to her, *Is this a Time to receive the Sacrament. You ran away on the Lord's Day, and ſcorned to receive it in the Meetinghouſe, and Is this a Time to receive it? I wonder at you!* This is the Summ of what I either ſaw myſelf, or did receive Information from Perſons of undoubted Reputation and Credit." —*Page* 8.

[16] "On the 11th of April, 1692, a Council was convened at Salem;

Accuſed or cryed out againſt; her Huſ[94]band coming to attend and aſſiſt her, as there might be need, the Accuſers cryed out of him alſo, and that with ſo much earneſtneſs, that he was Committed with his Wife. About this time beſides the Experiment of the Afflicted falling at the ſight, *&c.* they put the Accuſed upon ſaying the Lord's Prayer, which one among them performed, except in that petition [*Deliver us from Evil*] ſhe expreſt it thus (*Deliver us from all Evil*) this was lookt upon as if ſhe Prayed againſt what ſhe was now juſtly under, and being put upon it again, and repeating thoſe words [*Hallowed be thy name*] ſhe expreſt it [*Hollowed be thy Name*] this was counted a depraving the words, as ſignifying to make void, and ſo a Curſe rather than a Prayer, upon the whole it was concluded that ſhe alſo could not ſay it, *&c.* Proceeding in this work of examination and Commitment many were

at which there were preſent Dep. Gov. Thomas Danforth, James Russell, John Hathorne, Isaac Addington, Maj. Samuel Appleton, Capt. Samuel Sewall and Jonathan Corwin. To them Complaint was exhibited by Capt. Jonathan Wallcott and Lieut. Nathaniell Ingerſall, both of Salem Village, on the behalf of ſeveral Neighbors, as well as on their own; againſt Sarah Cloyce, wife of Peter Cloyce of Salem Village, and Elizabeth Proctor, wife of John Proctor of Salem Farms [on the Road towards Boſton] for high ſuſpition of ſundry Acts of Witchcraft, committed on the Bodies of Abigail Williams and John Indian, both of Mr. Samuel Parris his Famyly, Mary Walcot, Ann Putnam and Mercy Lewis, &c." When the Accuſed were brought before the Council, Mr. Parris "was deſired and appointed to wright ye Examination," which he accepted, and the Record is ſtill extant in his Hand-writing. Accordingly Elizabeth Proctor, and her Huſband, John Proctor, and Sarah Cloyce were all committed to Priſon, "per adviſe of ye Councill."—*Witchcraft Records*, i. 101-2.

ſent to Priſon. As an Inſtance, ſee the following Mittimus:

To their Majeſties Goal-keeper in *Salem.*

YOU *are in Their Majeſties Names hereby required to take into your care, and ſafe cuſtody, the Bodies of* William Hobs, *and* Deborah *his Wife,* Mary Eaſty, *the Wife of* Iſaac Eaſty, *and* Sarah Wild, *the Wife of* John Wild, *all of* Topſfield; *and* Edward Biſhop, *of* Salem-Village; *Huſbandman, and* Sarah *his Wife, and* Mary Black, *a* negro *of Lieutenant* Nathaniel Putmans, *of* Salem-Village; *alſo* Mary Engliſh *the Wife of* Philip Engliſh,[17] *Merchant in* Salem; *who ſtand charged with High Suſpicion of Sundry Acts of Witchcraft,*

[17] The Teſtimony and Indictment againſt Philip Engliſh may be ſeen in the *Hiſt. and Antiq's Boſton,* 497, printed from the Originals in the Author's Poſſeſſion. With the ſame are the two Indictments (in the Hand-writing of Edward Rawſon), charging him with bewitching Elizabeth Booth, of Salem, Single-woman, and Mary Wallcott. Theſe Indictments are both dated May 31ſt, 1692. The Monſters who carried on the Charges, were much like a Pack of hungry Wolves. One would ſet up the Howl of Witch, and immediately others would follow. So in the Caſe of Philip Engliſh, a large number of Perſons joined thoſe Girls in their "Crying out on" him. This encouraged them to keep up their Deceptions. Mrs. Engliſh was accuſed before her Huſband. One Mary Warren, Servant to Mr. Procter, outwent all others, except perhaps Elizabeth Booth, in the Invention of Stories. Rebutting Teſtimony was brought againſt her, but it had no Effect with the Court. Edward Biſhop, aged 44; Sarah, 41, and Mary Eſtey, 56; all ſaid that they heard Mary Warren ſay, when in Jail together in Salem, that the Magiſtrates might as well examine Keyſar's Daughter that had been diſtracted many Years, and believe what ſhe ſaid, as well as what any of the Afflicted ſaid. Mary Engliſh, aged 39, ſaid, being at Salem about a Month before, ſhe heard Mary Warren ſpeak the ſame Words.

done or committed by them lately upon the Bodies of Ann Putman, Mary Lewis *and* Abigail Williams, *of* Salem-Village; *whereby great Hurt and Damage hath been done to the Bodies of the ſaid Perſons, according to the complaint of* Thomas Putnam *and* John Buxton *of* Salem-Village, *Exhibited.* Salem, Apr 21, 1692, *appears, whom you are to ſecure in order to their further Examination. Fail not.*

John Hathorn, } *Aſſiſtants.*
Jona. Curwin, }

Dated Salem, April 22, 1692.

To Marſhall George Herrick *of Salem Eſſex.* }

YOU are in their Majeſties Names hereby required to convey the above-named to the Goal at Salem. *Fail not.*

John Hathorn, } *Aſſiſtants,*
Jona. Curwin, }

Dated Salem, Apr 22, 1692.

The occaſion of *Biſhops* being cry'd out of, was he being at an Examination in *Salem,* when at the Inn an afflicted *Indian* was very unruly, whom he undertook, and ſo managed him, that he was very orderly, after which in riding home, in company of him and other Accuſers, the *Indian* fell into a fit, and clapping hold with his Teeth on the back of the Man that rode before him, thereby held

himſelf upon the Horſe, but ſaid, *Biſhop* ſtriking him with his ſtick, the *Indian* ſoon recovered, and promiſed he would do ſo no more; to which *Biſhop* replied, that he [95] doubted not, but he could cure them all, with more to the ſame effect; immediately after he was parted from them, he was cried out of, *&c.*

May 14, 1692. Sir *William Phips* arrived with Commiſſion from their Majeſties to be Governor, purſuant to the New Charter; which he now brought with him; the Ancient Charter having been vacated by King *Charles*, and King James (by which they had a power not only to make their own Laws; but alſo to chuſe their own Governor and Officers;) and the Countrey for ſome years was put under an abſolute Commiſſion-Government, till the Revolution, at which time, tho more than two thirds of the People were for reaſſuming their ancient Government, (to which they had encouragement by his then Royal Highneſs's Proclamation) yet ſome that might have been better imployed[18] (in another Station) made

[18] Dr. Mather affirms that "the *Old Government* was *Reaſſumed*, and the *Old Charter* too was *Reaſſumed*, as far as it was poſſible to be done; Every thing in the World was done, but only declaring that the *Judgment* paſſed in the King's Court of Chancery (however it might be thought a Grievance) did the *Charter* no *Damage*; which if ſome were wiſer then to ſay, who can help it? Well, did I oppoſe this *Reaſſumption!* They that were acquainted with me, I am ſure, did not think ſo; and they that ſent their *Tory Pamphlets* about the Countrey againſt me, as an *Impudent Youth* [then aged 26] for my aſſiſting the *Reaſſumed Government*, I am ſure did not think ſo. Let the things Publiſhed for the ſupporting of the Reaſſumed Government; and particularly the very firſt *Paſſage* in the *firſt Sermon*, at the

it their buſineſs (by printing, as well as ſpeaking) to their utmoſt to divert them from ſuch a ſettlement; and ſo far prevailed, that for about ſeven Weeks after the Revolution, here was not ſo much as a face of any Government; but ſome few Men upon their own Nomination would be called a Committee of Safety; but at length the Aſſembly prevailed with thoſe that had been of the Government, to promiſe that they would reaſſume; and accordingly a Proclamation was drawn, but before publiſhing it, it was underwritten, that they would not have it underſtood that they did reaſſume Charter-Government; ſo that between Government and no Government, this Countrey remained till Sir *William* arrived: Agents being in this time impowered in *England*, which no doubt did not all of them act according to the Minds or Intereſts of thoſe that impowered them, which is manifeſt by their not acting jointly in what was done; ſo that this place is perhaps a ſingle Inſtance (even in the beſt of Reigns) of a Charter not reſtored after ſo happy a Revolution.[19]

Anniverſary Election, which the Deputies of the *General-Court* called me to *Preach* and *Print*, (which by the way, would they have done, if the *Young Man* had been ſuch an one as this Man would render him?) be my Everlaſting Apology; and let *Calves* never Bleat, nor *Bulls* (of *Baſhan*) Roar againſt me, on that Point any more."—*Remarks upou a Scandalous Book*, &c., Pages 46-7. The "Paſſage" he refers to in his Election Sermon is too long to be extracted here.

[19] Our Author is not the only one who thought Dr. I. Mather had ſome ſelfiſh Ends to anſwer in his Management of Affairs in England. See Quincy, *Hiſt. H. Col.*, i, 60. But Qnincy is entirely too one-ſided, ardent and dogmatical to be implicitly relied upon.

This ſettlement by Sir *William Phips* his being come Governour put an end to all diſputes of theſe things,[20] and being arrived, and having read his Commiſſion, the firſt thing he exerted his Power in, was ſaid to be his giving Orders that Irons ſhould be put upon thoſe in Priſon; for tho for ſometime after theſe were Committed, the Accuſers ceaſed to cry out of them; yet now the cry againſt them was renewed, which occaſioned ſuch Order; and tho there was partiality in the executing it (ſome having taken them off almoſt as ſoon as put on) yet the cry of theſe Accuſers againſt ſuch ceaſed after this Order.[21]

May 24. Mrs. *Cary* of *Charleſtown*, was Examined and Committed. Her Huſband Mr. *Nathaniel Cary* has given account thereof, as alſo of her Eſcape, to this Effect,

I having heard ſome days, that my Wife was accuſed of Witchcraft, being much diſturbed at it, by advice, we went to Salem-Village, *to ſee if the af*[96]*flicted knew her; we arrived there*, 24. *May, it happened to be a day appointed for Examination;*

[20] That is the Diſputes reſpecting the Form of Government.

[21] It appears that ſome Irons had been prepared before the Arrival of Gov. Phips, though he may have ordered a further Supply, as Priſoners greatly increaſed about that Time. Mr. Felt, the Annaliſt of Salem, furniſhed Mr. J. W. Hanſon with a Copy of an Account of the Priſon-keeper (John Arnold), of Boſton, for various Items uſed in the Priſon. Said Account begins about the 7th of March, 1691-2. On "May 9th, To Chains for Sarah Good and Sarah Oſborn, 14 *s.* May 23d, To Shackles for 10 Priſoners. May 29th, to 1 pr. Irons for Mary Cox," &c. See *Hiſt. Danvers*, 290. For other Items of this Sort, ſee *Records of S. W.*, ii, 212, *et ſeq.*

accordingly ſoon after our arrival, Mr. Hathorn *and* Mr. Curwin, &c. *went to the Meeting-houſe, which was the place appointed for that Work, the Miniſter began with Prayer, and having taken care to get a convenient place, I obſerved, that the afflicted were two Girls of about Ten Years old, and about two or three other, of about eighteen, one of the girls talked moſt, and could diſcern more than the reſt. The Priſoners were called in one by one, and as they came in were cried out of, &c. The Priſoner was placed about 7 or 8 foot from the Juſtices, and the Accuſers between the Juſtices and them; the Priſoner was ordered to ſtand right before the Juſtices, with an Officer appointed to hold each hand, leaſt they ſhould therewith afflict them, and the Priſoner's Eyes muſt be conſtantly on the Juſtices; for if they look'd on the afflicted, they would either fall into their Fits, or cry out of being hurt by them; after Examination of the Priſoners, who it was afflicted theſe Girls, &c. they were put upon ſaying the Lord's Prayer, as a tryal of their guilt; after the afflicted ſeem'd to be out of their Fits, they would look ſteadfaſtly on ſome one perſon, and frequently not ſpeak; and then the Juſtices ſaid they were ſtruck dumb, and after a little time would ſpeak again; then the Juſtices ſaid to the Accuſers, which of you will go and touch the Priſoner at the Bar? then the moſt courageous would adventure, but before they had made three ſteps would ordinarily fall down as in a Fit; the Juſtices ordered that they ſhould be taken up and carried to the Priſoner, that ſhe might*

touch them; and as ſoon as they were touched by the accuſed, the Juſtices would ſay, they are well, before I could diſcern any alteration; by which I obſerved that the Juſtices underſtood the manner of it. Thus far I was only as a Spectator, my Wife alſo was there part of the time, but no notice taken of her by the afflicted, except once or twice they came to her and aſked her name.

But I having an opportunity to Diſcourſe Mr. Hale (*with whom I had formerly acquaintance*) I *took his advice, what I had beſt to do, and deſired of him that I might have an opportunity to ſpeak with her that accuſed my Wife; which he promiſed ſhould be, I acquainting him that I repoſed my truſt in him.*

Accordingly he came to me after the Examination was over, and told me I had now an opportunity to ſpeak with the ſaid Accuſer, viz. Abigail Williams, *a Girl of* 11 *or* 12 *Years old; but that we could not be in private at Mr.* Parris's *Houſe, as he had promiſed me; we went therefore into the Alehouſe, where an Indian man attended us, who it ſeems was one of the afflicted: to him we gave ſome Cyder, he ſhewed ſeveral Scars, that ſeemed as if they had been long there, and ſhewed them as done by Witchcraft, and acquainted us that his Wife, who alſo was a Slave, was impriſon'd for Witchcraft.*[22] *And now*

[22] This was *Tituba*, of whom Mention has been before made. See *Note* 4. Her firſt Examination is a ſurpriſing Document, not only for its Length, but for its Matter; and the Editor cannot but candidly confeſs that the Queſtions were more ridiculous than the Anſwers of the ſimple Indian Woman, if poſſible. Her Huſband was known as *John Indian*. The original Minutes are in the Editor's Poſſeſſion.

inſtead of one Accuſer, they all came in, who began to tumble down like Swine, and then three Women were called in to attend them. We in the Room were all at a ſtand, to ſee who they would cry out of; but in a ſhort time they cried [97] *out,* Cary: *and immediately after a Warrant was ſent from the Juſtices to bring my Wife before them, who were ſitting in a Chamber near by, waiting for this.*

Being brought before the Juſtices, her chief accuſers were two Girls: my Wife declared to the Juſtices, that ſhe never had any knowledge of them before that day; ſhe was forced to ſtand with her Arms ſtretched out. I did requeſt that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me; then ſhe deſired me to wipe the Tears from her Eyes, and the Sweat from her Face, which I did; then ſhe deſired ſhe might lean herſelf on me, ſaying, ſhe ſhould faint.

Juſtice Hathorn *replied, ſhe had ſtrength enough to torment thoſe perſons, and ſhe ſhould have ſtrength enough to ſtand. I ſpeaking ſomething againſt their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be ſilent, or elſe I ſhould be turned out of the Room. The Indian before mentioned, was alſo brought in to be one of her Accuſers: being come in, he now (when before the Juſtices) fell down and tumbled about like a Hog, but ſaid nothing. The Juſtices aſked the Girls, who afflicted the Indian? they anſwered ſhe (meaning my wife) and now lay upon him; the Juſtices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head muſt be turned another way, leaſt inſtead of curing, ſhe ſhould make him worſe, by her looking on*

him, her hand being guided to take hold of his; but the Indian took hold on her hand, and pulled her down on the Floor, in a barbarous manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought. I being extreamly troubled at their Inhumane dealings, uttered a haſty Speech [That God would take vengeance on them, and deſired that God would deliver us out of the hands of unmerciful men.] *Then her Mittimus was writ; I did with difficulty and charge obtain the liberty of a Room, but no beds in it; if there had, could have taken but little reſt that Night, ſhe was committed to Boſton Priſon; but I obtained a Habeas Corpus to remove her to Cambridge Priſon, which is in our County of Middleſex. Having been there one Night, next Morning the Jaylor*[23] *put Irons on her legs (having received ſuch a command) the weight of them was about eight pounds; theſe with her other Afflictions, ſoon brought her into Convulſion Fits, ſo that I thought ſhe would have died that Night, I ſent to intreat that the Irons might be taken off, but all intreaties were in vain, if it would have ſaved her Life, ſo that in this condition ſhe muſt continue. The Tryals at Salem coming on, I went thither, to ſee how things were managed; and finding that the Spectre-Evidence was there received, together with Idle, if not Malicious ſtories, againſt Peoples Lives, I did eaſily ſee which way it would go; for the ſame Evidence that ſerved for one, would*

[23] This application of Irons was of courſe after the Arrival of the Governor. The Name of the Jailor has already been given.

ſerve for all the reſt; I acquainted her with her danger; and that if ſhe were carried to Salem to be tried, I feared ſhe would never return. I did my utmoſt that ſhe might have her Tryal in our own County, I with ſeveral others Petitioning the Judge for it, and were put in hopes of it; [98] *but I ſoon ſaw ſo much, that I underſtood thereby it was not intended, which put me upon conſulting the means of her eſcape; which thro the goodneſs of God was effected, and ſhe got to Road Iſland, but ſoon found herſelf not ſafe when there, by reaſon of the purſuit after her; from thence ſhe went to New-York, along with ſome others that had eſcaped their cruel hands; where we found his Excellency* Benjamin Fletcher, *Eſq: Governour, who was very courteous to us. After this ſome of my Goods were ſeized in a Friends hands, with whom I had left them, and myſelf impriſoned by the Sheriff, and kept in Cuſtody half a day, and then diſmiſt; but to ſpeak of their uſage of the Priſoners, and their Inhumanity ſhewn to them, at the time of their Execution, no ſober Chriſtian could bear; they had alſo tryals of cruel mockings; which is the more, conſidering what a People for Religion, I mean the profeſſion of it, we have been; thoſe that ſuffered being many of them Church-Members, and moſt of them unſpotted in their Converſation, till their Adverſary the Devil took up this Method for accuſing them.*

Per Jonathan Cary.[24]

[24] It would ſeem from the *Records*, (as publiſhed by Mr. Woodward) that Cary's name was *Nathaniel.* In Savage, we find that

May 31. Captain *John Aldin* was Examined at *Salem*, and Committed to *Boſton* Priſon, the Priſon-Keeper ſeeing ſuch a Man Committed, of whom he had a good eſteem, was after this the more Compaſſionate to thoſe that were in Priſon on the like account; and did refrain from ſuch hard things to the Priſoners, as before he had uſed. Mr. *Aldin* himſelf has given account of his Examination, in theſe Words.

An Account how John Aldin,[25] *Senior, was dealt with at* Salem-*Village.*

JOHN ALDIN *Senior, of Boſton, in the County of Suffolk, Marriner, on the* 28*th Day of May,* 1692, *was ſent for by the Magiſtrates of* Salem, *in the County of Eſſex, upon the Accuſation of a company of poor diſtracted, or poſſeſſed Creatures or Witches; and being ſent by Mr.* Stoughton, *arrived there the* 31*ſt* of May, *and appeared at* Salem-Village, *before Mr.* Gidney, *Mr.* Hathorn, *and Mr.* Curwin.

Jonathan Cary of Charleſtown had Wife Hannah Winſor; that *Nathaniel* was Brother to Jonathan, and that they were Sons to James Cary, who came to Charleſtown in or before 1639. Complaint was made againſt Mrs. Cary by Mr. Thomas Putnam and Benjamin Hatchinſon, both of Salem Village. The Complaint was that ſhe had bewitched the miſcreant Girls before-mentioned, Mary Walcott, Abigail Willyams and Mercy Lewis. Mrs. Cary's Huſband is ſtyled "Capt. Nathaniell Cary of Charls Towne, Marener."—*Records*, ii., 196.

[25] He was the Son of the Pilgrim John of the Mayflower. See an Account of him and his Perſecution in *Hiſt. and Antiqs. Boſton*, 499. Alſo *Records S. W.*, ii., 196. His Accuſers were the ſame Wretches—Mary Lewis, Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Booth, Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam and Mary Warren. The Warrant for his Commitment was dated May 31ſt, 1692, as will be ſeen immediately onward.

Thoſe Wenches being preſent, who plaid their jugling tricks, falling down, crying out, and ſtaring in Peoples Faces; the Magiſtrates demanded of them ſeveral times, who it was of all the People in the Room that hurt them? one of theſe Accuſers pointed ſeveral times at one Captain Hill,[26] *there preſent, but ſpake nothing; the ſame Accuſer, had a Man ſtanding at her back to hold her up; he ſtooped down to her Ear, then ſhe cried out,* Aldin, Aldin *afflicted her; one of the Magiſtrates aſked her if ſhe had ever ſeen* Aldin, *ſhe anſwered no, he aſked how ſhe knew it was* Aldin? *She ſaid, the Man told her ſo.*

Then all were ordered to go down into the Street, where a Ring was made; and the ſame Accuſer cried out, there ſtands Aldin, *a bold fellow with his Hat on before the Judges, he ſells Powder and Shot to the* Indians *and* French, [99] *and lies with the* Indian *Squaes, and has* Indian *Papooſes. Then was* Aldin *committed to the Marſhal's Cuſtody, and his Sword taken from him; for they ſaid he afflicted them with his Sword. After ſome hours* Aldin *was ſent for to the Meeting-houſe in the Village before the Magiſtrates; who required* Aldin *to ſtand upon a Chair, to the open view of all the People.*

The Accuſers cried out that Aldin *did pinch them, then, when he ſtood upon the Chair, in the ſight of all the People, a good way diſtant from them, one of the Magiſtrates bid the Marſhal to hold open* Aldins *hands, that he might not pinch thoſe Creatures.* Aldin *aſked them why they ſhould think, that he ſhould come*

[26] The ſame, probably, mentioned before. See Vol. ii, Page 75.

to that Village to afflict thoſe perſons that he never knew or ſaw before? Mr. Gidney *bid* Aldin *confeſs, and give glory to God:* Aldin *ſaid he hoped he ſhould give glory to God, and hoped he ſhould never gratifie the Devil; but appealed to all that ever knew him, if they ever ſuſpected him to be ſuch a perſon, and challenged any one, that could bring in any thing upon their own knowledge, that might give ſuſpicion of his being ſuch an one. Mr.* Gidney *ſaid he had known* Aldin *many Years, and had been at Sea with him, and always look'd upon him to be an honeſt Man, but now he did ſee cauſe to alter his judgment:* Aldin *anſwered, he was ſorry for that, but he hoped God would clear up his Innocency, that he would recall that judgment again, and added that he hoped that he ſhould with* Job *maintain his Integrity till he died. They bid* Aldin *look upon the Accuſers, which he did, and then they fell down.* Aldin *aſked Mr.* Gidney, *what reaſon there could be given, why* Aldin's *looking upon* him *did not ſtrike* him *down as well? but no reaſon was given that I heard. But the Accuſers were brought to* Aldin *to touch them, and this touch they ſaid made them well.* Aldin *began to ſpeak of the Providence of God, in ſuffering theſe Creatures to accuſe Innocent perſons; Mr.* Noyes *aſked* Aldin *why he would offer to ſpeak of the Providence of God, God by his Providence (ſaid Mr.* Noyes) *governs the World, and keeps it in peace; and ſo went on with Diſcourſe, and ſtopt* Aldin's *mouth, as to that.* Aldin *told Mr.* Gidney, *that he could aſſure him that there was a*

lying Spirit in them, for I can aſſure you that there is not a word of truth in all theſe ſay of me. But Aldin *was again committed to the Marſhal, and his Mittimus written, which was as follows.*

To Mr. John Arnold, Keeper of the Priſon in Boſton, *in the County of* Suffolk.[27]

WHEREAS *Captain* John Aldin *of* Boſton, *Mariner, and* Sarah Rice, *Wife of* Nicholas Rice *of* Reding, *Huſbandman, have been this day brought before us,* John Hathorn *and* Jonathan Curwin, *Eſquires; being accuſed and ſuſpected of perpetrating divers acts of Witchcraft, contrary to the form of the Statute, in that Caſe made and provided: Theſe are therefore* [100] *in Their Majeſties, King* William *and Queen* Marys *Names, to Will and require you, to take into your Cuſtody, the bodies of the ſaid* John Aldin, *and* Sarah Rice, *and them ſafely keep, until they ſhall thence be delivered by due courſe of Law; as you will anſwer the contrary at your peril; and this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant. Given under our hands at* Salem-*Village, the* 31ſt *of* May, *in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady,* William *and* Mary, *now King and Queen over* England, *&c,* Anno Dom. 1692.

John Hathorn,
Jonathan Curwin, } *Aſſiſtants.*

[27] The original Mittimus does not appear among the Records preſerved at Salem. If preſerved, it has not been diſcovered.

To Boſton Aldin *was carried by a Conſtable, no Bail would be taken for him; but was delivered to the Priſon-keeper, where he remained Fifteen Weeks; and then obſerving the manner of Tryals, and Evidence then taken, was at length prevailed with to make his Eſcape, and being returned, was bound over to Anſwer at the Superior Court at* Boſton, *the laſt* Tueſday *in* April, Anno, 1693. *And was there cleared by Proclamation, none appearing againſt him.*

Per. John Aldin.

At Examination, and at other times, 'twas uſual for the Accuſers to tell of the black Man, or of a Spectre, as being then on the Table, *&c.* The People about would ſtrike with Swords, or ſticks at thoſe places. One Juſtice broke his cane at this Exerciſe, and ſometimes the Accuſers would ſay, they ſtruck the Spectre, and it is reported ſeveral of the accuſed were hurt and wounded thereby, though at home at the ſame time.

The Juſtices proceeding in theſe works of Examination, and Commitment, to the end of *May*, there was by that time about a Hundred perſons Impriſoned upon that Account.[28]

June 2. A ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, having been Iſſued out, to Mr. *Stoughton*, the New Lieutenant Governour, Major *Saltonſtall*, Major *Richards*, Major *Gidny*, Mr. *Wait Winthrop*,

[28] Their Names may, probably, nearly all be collected from the Records. Intereſt ſhould prompt ſome one to make the Attempt.

Captain *Sewall*, and Mr. *Sergeant*;[29] Theſe (a *Quorum* of them) ſat at *Salem* this day; where the moſt that was done this Week, was the Tryal of one *Biſhop* alias *Oliver*, of *Salem;* who having long undergone the repute of a Witch, occaſioned by the Accuſations of one *Samuel Gray:* he about 20 Years ſince, having charged her with ſuch Crimes, and though upon his Death-bed, he teſtified his ſorrow and repentance for ſuch Accuſations, as being wholly groundleſs; yet the report taken up by his means continued, and ſhe being accuſed by thoſe afflicted, and upon ſearch a Tet, as they call it, being found, ſhe was brought in guilty by the Jury; ſhe [101] received her Sentence of Death, and was Executed, *June* 10. but made not the leaſt Confeſſion of any thing relating to Witchcraft.[30]

June 15. Several Miniſters in and near *Boſton*, having been to that end conſulted by his Excellency, expreſt their minds to this effect, *viz.*

That they were affected with the deplorable ſtate of the afflicted; That they were thankful for the diligent care of the Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts, which have been committed in the Country, praying for a perfect diſcovery thereof. But adviſed to a cautious proceeding, leaſt many Evils enſue, *&c.* And that

[29] Their Names have already appeared. Capt. Sewall was the well known Judge Sewall.

[30] See the long and tedious Teſtimonies againſt her in Vol. I, Pages 163-174, and of the ſame ridiculous Character as others; yet not ſo ridiculous there as in the original *Records*, which ſee. Ezekiel Cheever took down the Examination.

tenderneſs be uſed towards thoſe accuſed, relating to matters preſumptive and convictive, and alſo to privacy in Examinations, and to conſult Mr. *Perkins* and Mr. *Bernard*, what teſts to make uſe of in the Scrutiny: That Preſumptions and Convictions ought to have better grounds, than the Accuſers affirming that they ſee ſuch perſons Spectres afflicting them; and that the Devil may afflict in the ſhape of good Men; and that falling at the ſight, and riſing at the touch of the Accuſed, is no infallible proof of guilt; That ſeeing the Devils ſtrength conſiſts in ſuch Accuſations, our diſbelieving them may be a means to put a period to the dreadful Calamities; Nevertheleſs they humbly recommend to the Government, the ſpeedy and vigorous proſecution of ſuch as have rendered themſelves obnoxious, according to the direction given in the Laws of God, and the wholeſome Statutes of the *Engliſh* Nation, for the Detection of Witchcraft.[31]

[31] Of this Abſtract Dr. Mather ſays: "His firſt and main Deſign is to render me odious unto the Countrey, as being one chief *Abettor* of that Opinion, That the Devils cannot afflict in the Shape of an Innocent Perſon; and as being an *Inciter* of the Judges, to the Conviction of *Witchcrafts* upon that Opinion It is very certain that his Conſcience muſt needs tell him, this is a moſt *Lying Accuſation*. For in my Book of *Memorable Providences*, which I writ before the Troubles at *Salem*, and even *before I was ſo fully acquainted with the Wiles of Satan*, (for my ſaying of which, on a certain Occaſion, he flouts at me) I have a whole Paragraph to caution againſt *accounting a bewitched Perſons pretending to ſee an Apparition of ſuch or ſuch an one, an Argument of their being Naughty People.* And ſome of the Chief Miniſters in this Land favoured that Book with their Atteſtation, however my Friend Calef now Derides it." This was the Work recommended by Mr. Baxter.

This is briefly the ſubſtance of what may be ſeen more at large in *Caſes of Conſcience*, (*ult.*) And one of them ſince taking occaſion to repeat ſome part of this advice, *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, p. 83. declares, (notwithſtanding the Diſſatisfaction of others) that if his ſaid Book may conduce to promote thankfulneſs to God for ſuch Executions, he ſhall rejoice, *&c.*

The 30th of *June*, the Court according to Adjournment again ſat; five more were tried, *viz.* *Sarah Good* and *Rebecca Nurſe*, of *Salem-Village*; *Suſanna Martin* of *Amſbury*; *Elizabeth How* of *Ipſwich*; and *Sarah Wildes* of *Topsfield*: theſe were all condemned that Seſſions, and were all Executed on the 19th of *July*.[32]

At the Tryal of *Sarah Good*, one of the afflicted fell in a Fit, and after coming out of it, ſhe cried out of the Priſoner, for ſtabbing her in the breaſt with a Knife, and that ſhe had broken the Knife in ſtabbing of her, accordingly a piece of the blade of a Knife was found about her. Immediately information being given to the Court, a young Man was called, who produced a Haft and part of the Blade, which the Court having viewed and compared, ſaw it to be the ſame. And upon inquiry the young Man affirmed, that

[32] The Trial of Suſanna Martin is given in the *Wonders* (Vol. i.) Pages 175-187; that of Elizabeth How, Pages 188-194; that of Rebecca Nurſe in *Records of S. W.* i. 76-99; Vol. ii. 215; of Sarah Wilds of Topsfield. *Ibid*, ii, 180-182, 215; Sarah Good; *Ibid*, 11-24; ii, 214-15. The Partiality in the Wonders is elſewhere noticed.

yeſterday he happened to brake that Knife, and that he caſt away the upper part, this afflicted perſon being then [102] preſent, the young Man was diſmiſt, and ſhe was bidden by the Court not to tell lyes;[33] and was improved (after as ſhe had been before) to give Evidence againſt the Priſoners.

At Execution, Mr. *Noyes* urged *Sarah Good* to Confeſs, and told her ſhe was a Witch, and ſhe knew ſhe was a Witch, to which ſhe replied, you are a lyer; I am no more a Witch than you are a Wizard, and if you take away my Life, God will give you Blood to drink.

At the Tryal of *Rebecca Nurſe*, this was remarkable that the Jury brought in their Verdict not Guilty, immediately all the accuſers in the Court, and, ſuddenly after all the afflicted out of Court, made an hideous out-cry, to the amazement, not only of the Spectators, but the Court alſo ſeemed ſtrangely ſurprized: one of the Judges

[33] The Trial of Sarah Good was one of a ſingularly revolting Character. Her own Daughter, named Dorothy, was one of the Witneſſes againſt her. Said her Mother "had three Birds, one black, one yellow, and that theſe Birds hurt the Children and afflicted Perſons."—*Records S. W.* i, 23. Her own Huſband gave her a very bad Character, but ſaid he knew nothing of her being a Witch. The Story of the broken Knife, I do not remember ſeeing in the *Records*. It was probably ſuppreſſed. Samuel Abbey and Mary his Wife, aged about 45 and 38, reſpectively, teſtified that William Good and his Wife Sarah, being deſtitute of a Houſe to dwell in, they took them in out of Charity; but about two years and a half before, were obliged to turn them out "for quietneſs ſake, the ſaid Sarah was of ſo turbulant a Sperritt, ſpitefull and mallitiouſly bent." Whereupon the ſaid Abbey in about two years loſt 17 head of Cattle, beſides Sheep and "Hoggs."—*Records, ib.* 24-5. See alſo Mr. Upham's *Lectures on Witchcraft.*

expreſt himſelf not ſatisfied, another of them as he was going off the Bench, ſaid they would have her Indicted anew. The chief Judge ſaid he would not Impoſe upon the Jury; but intimated, as if they had not well conſidered one Expreſſion of the Priſoners when ſhe was upon Tryal, *viz.* That when one *Hobbs*, who had confeſſed herſelf to be a Witch, was brought into the Court to witneſs againſt her, the Priſoner turning her head to her, ſaid, [*What, do you bring her? ſhe is one of us*] or to that effect, this together with the Clamours of the Accuſers, induced the Jury to go out again, after their Verdict, not Guilty. But not agreeing, they came into the Court, and ſhe being then at the Bar, her words were repeated to her, in order to have had her explanation of them, and ſhe making no Reply to them, they found the Bill, and brought her in Guilty; theſe words being the Inducement to it, as the Foreman has ſignified in writing, as follows.

July 4, 1692. I Thomas Fiſk,[34] *the Subſcriber hereof, being one of them that were of the Jury laſt week at* Salem-court, *upon the Tryal of* Rebecca Nurſe, *&c. being deſired by ſome of the Relations to give a Reaſon why the Jury brought her in Guilty, after her Verdict not Guilty; I do hereby give my Reaſons to be as follows*, viz.

When the Verdict not Guilty was, the honored Court was pleaſed to object againſt it, ſaying to them, that

[34] The Names of the Jurors are not recorded. John Ruck was the Foreman, Brother-in-law, I ſuppoſe of Mr. Burroughs.

they think they let ſlip the words, which the Priſoner at the Bar ſpake againſt herſelf, which were ſpoken in reply to Goodwife Hobbs *and her Daughter, who had been faulty in ſetting their hands to the Devils Book, as they have confeſſed formerly; the words were* [What do theſe perſons give in Evidence againſt me now, they uſed to come among us.] *After the honored Court had manifeſted their diſſatisfaction of the Verdict, ſeveral of the Jury declared themſelves deſirous to go out again, and thereupon the Honoured Court gave leave; but when we came to conſider of the Caſe, I could not tell how to take her words, as an Evidence againſt her, till ſhe had a further opportunity to put her Senſe upon them, if ſhe would take it; and then going into Court, I mentioned the words aforeſaid, which by one of the* [103] *Court were affirmed to have been ſpoken by her, ſhe being then at the Bar, but made no reply, nor interpretation of them; whereupon theſe words were to me a principal Evidence againſt her.*

Thomas Fiſk.

When goodwife *Nurſe* was informed what uſe was made of theſe words, ſhe put in this following Declaration into the Court.

THESE *preſents do humbly ſhew to the honoured Court and Jury, that I being informed, that the Jury brought me in Guilty, upon my ſaying that Goodwife* Hobbs *and her Daughter were of our Company; but I intended no otherways, than as they were*

Priſoners with us, and therefore did then, and yet do judge them not legal Evidence againſt their fellow Priſoners. And I being ſomething hard of hearing, and full of grief, none informing me how the Court took up my words, and therefore had no opportunity to declare what I intended, when I ſaid they were of our Company.

Rebecka Nurſe.

After her Condemnation ſhe was by one of the Miniſters of *Salem* excommunicated; yet the Governour ſaw cauſe to grant a Reprieve, which when known (and ſome ſay immediately upon granting) the Accuſers renewed their diſmal outcries againſt her, inſomuch that the Governour was by ſome *Salem* Gentleman prevailed with to recall the Reprieve, and ſhe was Executed with the reſt.

The Teſtimonials of her Chriſtian behaviour, both in the courſe of her Life, and at her Death, and her extraordinary care in educating her Children, and ſetting them good Examples, *&c.* under the hands of ſo many, are ſo numerous, that for brevity they are here omitted.[35]

It was at the Tryal of theſe that one of the Accuſers cried out publickly of Mr. *Willard* Miniſter in *Boſton*, as afflicting of her, ſhe was ſent out of the Court, and it was told about ſhe was miſtaken in the perſon.

[35] It is much to be regretted that he Author found it neceſſary to exclude ſuch Documents. The Paper referred is of ſpecial regret.

August 5. The Court again ſitting, ſix more were tried on the ſame Account, viz. Mr. *George Burroughs*, ſometime miniſter of *Wells*, *John Procter*, and *Elizabeth Procter* his Wife, with *John Willard* of *Salem*-Village, *George Jacobs* Senior, of *Salem*, and *Martha Carryer* of *Andover;* theſe were all brought in Guilty and Condemned; and were all Executed *Auguſt* 19, except *Procter*'s Wife, who pleaded Pregnancy.[36]

Mr. *Burroughs* was carried in a Cart with the others, through the ſtreets of *Salem* to Execution; when he was upon the Ladder, he made a Speech for the clearing of his Innocency, with ſuch Solemn and Serious Expreſſions, as were to the Admiration of all preſent; his Prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's Prayer,) was ſo well worded, and uttered with ſuch compoſedneſs, and ſuch (at leaſt ſeeming) fervency of [104] Spirit, as was very affecting, and drew Tears from many (ſo that it ſeemed to ſome, that the Spectators would hinder the Execution) the accuſers ſaid the black Man ſtood and dictated to him; as ſoon as he was turned off, Mr. *Cotton Mather*, being mounted upon a Horſe, addreſſed himſelf to the People, partly to declare, that he was no ordained Miniſter, and partly to poſſeſs the People of his guilt; ſaying That the Devil has often been transformed into an Angel of

[36] What has been preſerved of the Trials of theſe Perſons, will be found in Vol. i, and in the *Records* before cited.

Light;[37] and this did ſomewhat appeaſe the People, and the Executions went on; when he was cut down, he was dragged by the Halter to a Hole, or Grave, between the Rocks, about two foot deep, his Shirt and Breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of Trouſers of one Executed, put on his lower parts, he was ſo put in, together with *Willard* and *Carryer*, one of his Hands and his Chin, and a Foot of one of them being left uncovered.

John Willard, had been imployed to fetch in ſeveral that were accuſed; but taking diſſatisfaction from his being ſent, to fetch up ſome that he had better thoughts of, he declined the Service, and preſently after he himſelf was accuſed of the ſame Crime, and that with ſuch vehemency, that they ſent after him to apprehend him; he had

[37] "I was preſent when theſe things were teſtified againſt him, and obſerved that he could not make any Plea for himſelf (*in theſe Things*) that had any Weight: He had the Liberty of Challenging his *Jurors*, before empannelling, according to the *Statue* in that Caſe, and uſed his Liberty in Challenging many; yet the Jury that were *Sworn* brought him in Guilty."—Lawſon, *Second Edition*, 115.

Mr. Burroughs' Trial is fully given in Vo.l i, 152-63, It is not among the Records, for the Reaſon, probably, that it had been given to Mr. Mather to uſe, and was never returned. His Examination was before Stoughton, Hathorne, Sewall and Corwin. The following are the Names of the Men appointed to ſearch him for Teats: Edward Welch, William Gill, Zeb. Hill, Thomas Flint, Thomas Weſt, Samuel Morgan and John Bare, as Printed in the *Records*, ii, 112. They reported no "Tetts" upon Mr. Burroughs.

Ann Putnam's Teſtimony was ingenious, and as damning as any *Infernal Spirit* could have deſired. See *Records, ib.* 113-116. Mather does not give it, but ſays ſuch things were evidenced; as that he had murdered ſundry People. See Remarks of Mr. Upham, *Lectures*, 55.

made his Eſcape as far as Naſhawag,[38] about 40 Miles from *Salem;* yet 'tis ſaid thoſe Accuſers did then preſently tell the exact time, ſaying, now *Willard* is taken.

John Procter and his Wife being in Priſon, the Sheriff came to his Houſe and ſeized all the Goods, Proviſions, and Cattle that he could come at, and ſold ſome of the Cattle at half price, and killed others, and put them up for the *West-Indies;* threw out the Beer out of a Barrel, and carried away the Barrel; emptied a Pot of Broath, and took away the Pot, and left nothing in the Houſe for the ſupport of the Children: No part of the ſaid Goods are known to be returned. *Procter* earneſtly requeſted Mr. *Noyes* to pray with and for him, but it was wholly denied, becauſe he would not own himſelf to be a Witch.

During his Impriſonment he ſent the following Letter, in behalf of himſelf and others.

Salem-*Priſon,* July 23, 1692.

Mr. Mather, Mr. Allen,
Mr. Moody, Mr. Willard, and
Mr. Bailey.[39]

Reverend Gentlemen.

THE *innocency of our Caſe with the Enmity of our Accuſers and our Judges, and Jury, whom nothing but our Innocent Blood will ſerve their*

[38] A miſprint, probably, for *Naſhaway.*

[39] Dr. Increaſe Mather, Mr. James Allen of the Old South, Mr.

turns, having Condemned us already before our Tryals, being ſo much incenſed and engaged againſt us by the Devil, makes us bold to Beg and Implore your [105] *Favourable Aſſiſtance of this our Humble Petition to his Excellency, that if it be poſſible our Innocent Blood may be ſpared, which undoubtedly otherwiſe will be ſhed, if the Lord doth not mercifully ſtep in. The Magiſtrates, Miniſters, Jewries, and all the People in general, being ſo much inraged and incenſed againſt us by the Deluſion of the Devil, which we can term no other, by reaſon we know in our own Conſciences, we are all Innocent Perſons. Here are five Perſons who have lately confeſſed themſelves to be Witches, and do accuſe ſome of us, of being along with them at a Sacrament, ſince we were committed into cloſe Priſon, which we know to be Lies. Two of the* 5 *are* (Carrier's *Sons*) *Young men, who would not confeſs any thing till they tyed them Neck and Heels, till the Blood was ready to come out of their Noſes, and 'tis credibly believed and reported this was the occaſion of making them confeſs that they never did, by reaſon they ſaid one had been a Witch a Month, and another five Weeks, and that their Mother had made them ſo, who has been confined here this nine Weeks. My ſon* William Procter, *when he was examin'd, becauſe he would not confeſs that he was Guilty, when he was Innocent, they tyed him Neck and Heels till the Blood*

Joſhua Moody, Mr. Samuel Willard of the Old South, and Mr. John Bailey of the Firſt Church, Boſton.

guſhed out at his Noſe, and would have kept him ſo 24 Hours, if one more Merciful than the reſt, had not taken pity on him, and cauſed him to be unbound. Theſe actions are very like the Popiſh Cruelties.[40] *They have already undone us in our Eſtates, and that will not ſerve their turns, without our Innocent Bloods. If it cannot be granted that we can have our Trials at* Boſton, *we humbly beg that you would evdeavour to have theſe Magiſtrates changed, and others in their rooms, begging alſo and beſeeching you would be pleaſed to be here, if not all, ſome of you at our Trials, hoping thereby you may be the means of ſaving the ſhedding our Innocent Bloods, deſiring your Prayers to the Lord in our behalf, we reſt your Poor Afflicted Servants,*

John Procter, *&c.*

He pleaded very hard at Execution, for a little reſpite of time, ſaying that he was not fit to die; but it was not granted.

Old *Jacobs* being Condemned, the Sheriff and Officers came and ſeized all he had, his Wife had her Wedding Ring taken from her, but with great difficulty obtained it again. She was forced to buy Proviſions of the Sheriff, ſuch as he had taken, towards her own ſupport, which not being ſufficient, the Neighbours of Charity relieved her.

[40] My friend Savage calls this an "Infernal Buſineſs." I hope he will never get further out of the Way. It would ſeem that the Officials of that Day muſt have taken leſſons of Roman Inquiſitors.

Margaret Jacobs being one that had confeſſed her own Guilt, and teſtified againſt her Grand-Father *Jacobs*, Mr. *Burroughs*, and *John Willard*. She the day before Executions, came to Mr. *Burroughs*, acknowledging that ſhe had belyed them, and begged Mr. *Burroughs* Forgiveneſs, who not only forgave her, but alſo Prayed with and for her. She wrote the following Letter to her Father.

From the Dungeon in *Salem* Priſon,
Auguſt 20, 1692.

Honoured Father,

AFTER *my Humble Duty Remembered to you, hoping in the Lord of your good Health, as Bleſſed be God I enjoy, tho in abundance of Affliction, being cloſe confined here in a loathſome Dungeon, the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how ſoon I ſhall be put to Death, by means of the Afflicted Perſons; my Grand-Father having Suffered already, and all his Eſtate Seized for the King. The reaſon of my Confinement is this, I having, through the Magiſtrates Threatnings, and my own Vile and Wretched* [106] *heart, confeſſed ſeveral things contrary to my Conſcience and Knowledge, tho to the Wounding of my own Soul, the Lord pardon me for it; but Oh! the terrors of a wounded Conſcience who can bear. But bleſſed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my Sins, but in mercy I hope ſo my Soul would not ſuffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confeſs the truth of all before the*

Magiſtrates, who would not believe me, but 'tis their pleaſure to put me in here, and God knows how ſoon I ſhall be put to death. Dear Fathers, let me beg your Prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and ſend us a Joyful and Happy Meeting in Heaven. My Mother poor Woman is very Crazy, and remembers her kind Love to you, and to Uncle, viz. *D. A.*[41] *So leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I reſt your Dutiful Daughter,*

Margaret Jacobs.

At the time appointed for her Tryal, ſhe had an Impoſthume in her head, which was her Eſcape.

September 9. Six more were tried, and received Sentance of Death, viz. *Martha Cory* of *Salem*-Village, *Mary Eaſty* of Topsfield, *Alice Parker* and *Ann Pudeater* of *Salem*, *Dorcas Hoar* of *Beverly*, and *Mary Bradberry* of *Saliſbury*. September 16, *Giles Cory* was preſt to Death.[42]

September 17. Nine more received Sentance of Death, viz. *Margaret Scot* of *Rowley*, Goodwife

[41] Daniel Andrew of Salem, as I conjecture.

[42] Nineteen Years after theſe Executions, the General Court of the Province paſſed an Act declaring null and void all the Attainders and Judgments againſt thoſe who had ſuffered for Witchcraft. This Act was paſſed "upon the Humble Petition of the ſaid Perſons and of the Children of others of them whoſe Parents were Executed." The General Aſſembly alſo appointed a Committee "to conſider of ye Damages ſuſtained by ſundry Perſons proſecuted for Witchcraft in ye Year 1692." The Committee computed the Damage to thoſe above named as follows: Mr. and Mrs. Cory £21; Mary Eaſty £20; Alice Parker got nothing, but Mary Parker got £8; Nothing appears for Ann Pudeater; Dorcas Hoar £21; Mary Bradberry £20; ſome that ſuffered had no Repreſentative to receive the Award.

Redd of *Marblehead*, *Samuel Wardwell*, and *Mary Parker* of *Andover*, alſo *Abigail Falkner* of *Andover*, who pleaded Pregnancy, *Rebecca Eames* of *Boxford*, *Mary Lacy*, and *Ann Foſter* of *Andover*, and *Abigail Hobbs* of *Topsfield*. Of theſe Eight were Executed, *September* 22, viz. *Martha Cory*, *Mary Eaſty*, *Alice Parker*, *Ann Pudeater*, *Margaret Scot*, *Willmet Redd*, *Samuel Wardwell*, and *Mary Parker*.[43]

Giles Cory pleaded not Guilty to his Indictment, but would not put himſelf upon Tryal by the Jury (they having cleared none upon Tryal) and knowing there would be the ſame Witneſſes againſt him, rather choſe to undergo what Death they would put him to. In preſſing his Tongue being preſt out of his Mouth, the Sheriff with his Cane forced it in again, when he was dying. He was the firſt in *New-England* that was ever preſt to Death.

The Cart going to the Hill with theſe Eight to Execution, was for ſome time at a ſett; the afflicted and others ſaid, that the Devil hindered it,[44] *&c.*

Martha Cory, Wife to *Giles Cory*, proteſting her Innocency, concluded her Life with an Eminent Prayer upon the Ladder.

[43] Allowances were made to the moſt of thoſe or their Children, as may be ſeen in the Records before cited.

[44] "The Hill" has ever ſince been pointed out as *Witch Hill*, or more generally *Gallows Hill*; whence is had a fine view of the City of Salem. Some Account of this noted Hill might reaſonably be expected in a Hiſtory of Salem. The *Inſtitute* ſhould look to the Matter.

Wardwell having formerly confeſſed himſelf Guilty, and after denied it, was ſoon brought upon his Tryal; his former Confeſſion and Spectre Teſtimony was all that appeared againſt him. At Execution while he was ſpeaking to the People, proteſting his Innocency, the Executioner being at the ſame time ſmoaking Tobacco, the ſmoak coming in his Face, interrupted his Diſcourſe, thoſe Accuſers ſaid, the Devil hindered him with ſmoak.

[107] *Mary Eaſty*, Siſter alſo to *Rebecca Nurſe*, when ſhe took her laſt farewell of her Huſband, Children and Friends, was, as is reported by them preſent, as Serious, Religious, Diſtinct, and Affectionate as could well be expreſt, drawing Tears from the Eyes of almoſt all preſent. It ſeems beſides the Teſtimony of the Accuſers and Confeſſors, another proof, as it was counted, appeared againſt her, it having been uſual to ſearch the Accuſed for Tets; upon ſome parts of her Body, not here to be named, was found an Excreſcence, which they called a Tet. Before her Death ſhe put up the following Petition:

To the Honorable Judge and Bench now ſitting in Judicature in Salem *and the Reverend Miniſters, humbly ſheweth, That whereas your humble poor Petitioner being Condemned to die, doth humbly beg of you, to take it into your Judicious and Pious Conſideration, that your poor and humble Petitioner knowing my own Innocency (bleſſed be the Lord for it) and ſeeing plainly the Wiles and Subtilty of my*

Accuſers, by myſelf, cannot but judge charitably of others, that are going the ſame way with myſelf, if the Lord ſtep not mightily in. I was confined a whole Month on the ſame account that I am now condemned for, an then cleared by the Afflicted perſons, as ſome of your Honour know, and in two days time I was cried out upon by them, and have been confined and now am condemned to die. The Lord above knows my Innocency then, and likewiſe doth now, as at the great day will be known to Men and Angels. I Petition to your Honours not for my own Life, for I know I muſt die, and my appointed time is ſet; but the Lord he knows it is, if it be poſſible, that no more Innocent Blood be ſhed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and courſe you go in. I queſtion not, but your Honours do the utmoſt of your powers, in the diſcovery and detection of Witchcraft and Witches, and would not be guilty of Innocent Blood for the World; but by my own Innocency I know you are in the wrong way, the Lord in his infinite Mercy direct you in this great work, if it be his bleſſed will, that Innocent Blood be not ſhed; I would humbly beg of you, that your Honours would be pleaſed to Examine ſome of thoſe confeſſing Witches, I being confident there are ſeveral of them have belyed themſelves and others, as will appear, if not in this World, I am ſure in the World to come, whither I am going; and I queſtion not, but yourſelves will ſee an alteration in theſe things: They ſay, myſelf and others have made a league with the Devil, we cannot con-

feſs, I know and the Lord he knows (as will ſhortly appear) they belye me, and ſo I queſtion not but they do others; the Lord alone, who is the ſearcher of all hearts, knows that as I ſhall anſwer it at the Tribunal Seat, that I know not the leaſt thing of Witchcraft, therefore I cannot, I durſt not belye my own Soul. I beg your Honours not to deny this my humble Petition, from a poor dying Innocent perſon, and I queſtion not but the Lord will give a bleſſing to your Endeavours. Mary Eſty.

[108] After Execution Mr. *Noyes* turning him to the Bodies, ſaid, what a ſad thing it is to ſee Eight Firebrands of Hell hanging there.[45]

In *October* 1692, One of *Wenham* complained of Mrs. *Hale*, whoſe Huſband, the Miniſter of *Beverly*, had been very forward in theſe Proſecutions, but being fully ſatisfied of his Wifes ſincere Chriſtianity, cauſed him to alter his Judgment; for it was come to a ſtated Controverſie, among the *New-England* Divines, whether the Devil could Afflict in a good Mans ſhape; it ſeems nothing elſe could convince him: yet when it came ſo near to himſelf, he was ſoon convinc'd that the Devil might ſo Afflict. Which ſame reaſon did afterwards prevail with many others; and much influenced to the ſucceeding change at Tryals.[46]

[45] Surely Cotton Mather never uttered anything more inhuman. Mr. Noyes has already been noticed.

[46] Mr. John Hale had teſtified againſt ſome of the Accuſed; but I do not find that when his own Wife was accuſed any Record was made of it.

October 7. (*Edward Biſhop* and his Wife having made their Eſcape out of Priſon) this day Mr. *Corwin* the Sheriff, came and Seiz'd his Goods, and Cattle, and had it not been for his ſecond Son (who borrowed Ten Pound and gave it him) they had been wholly loſt, the Receipt follows; but it ſeems they muſt be content with ſuch a Receipt as he would give them.

Received this 7th day of October 1692, *of* Samuel Biſhop *of the Town of* Salem, *of the County of* Eſſex, *in* New-England, *Cordwainer, in full ſatisfaction, a valuable Sum of Money, for the Goods and Chattels of* Edward Biſhop, *Senior, of the Town and County aforeſaid, Huſbandman; which Goods and Chattels being ſeized, for that the ſaid* Edward Biſhop, *and* Sarah *his Wife, having been committed for Witchcraft and Felony, have made their Eſcape; and their Goods and Chattels were forfeited unto their Mageſties, and now being in Poſſeſſion of the ſaid* Samuel Biſhop; *and in behalf of their Majeſties, I do hereby diſcharge the ſaid Goods and Chattles the day and year above written, as witneſs my hand,*

George Corwin, *Sheriff.*

But before this the ſaid *Biſhops* Eldeſt Son, having Married into that Family of the *Putmans*, who were chief Proſecutors in this buſineſs; he holding a Cow to be branded leſt it ſhould be ſeiz'd, and having a Puſh or Boyl upon his Thigh, with his ſtraining it broke; this is that that was

pretended to be burnt with the ſaid Brand; and is one of the bones thrown to the Dogmatical to pick, in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, P. 143. the other, of a Corner of a Sheet, pretended to be taken from a Spectre, it is known that it was provided the day before, by that Afflicted perſon, and the third bone of a Spindle is almoſt as eaſily provided, as the piece of the Knife; ſo that *Apollo* needs not herein be conſulted, *&c.*

Mr. *Philip Engliſh*,[47] and his Wife having made their Eſcape out of Priſon, Mr. *Corwin* the Sheriff ſeiz'd his Eſtate, to the value of about Fifteen Hundred Pound, which was wholly loſt to him, except about Three Hundred Pound value, (which was afterward reſtored.)

[109] After Goodwife *Hoar* was Condemned, her Eſtate was ſeiz'd, and was alſo bought again for Eight Pound.

George Jacobs, Son to old *Jacobs* being accuſed, he fled, then the Officers came to his Houſe, his Wife was a Woman Crazy in her Senſes and had been ſo ſeveral Years. She it ſeems had been alſo accuſed, there were in the Houſe with her only four ſmall Children, and one of them ſuck'd her Eldeſt Daughter, being in Priſon; the Officer perſwaded her out of the Houſe, to go along with him, telling her ſhe ſhould ſpeedily return, the Children ran a great way after her crying.

When ſhe came where the Afflicted were, being

[47] The Caſe of Mr. Engliſh has been before referred to. See Note 17.

aſked, they ſaid they did not know her, at length one ſaid, don't you know *Jacobs* the old Witch, and then they cry'd out of her, and fell down in their Fits; ſhe was ſent to Priſon, and lay there Ten Months, the Neighbours of pity took care of the Children to preſerve them from periſhing.

About this time a New Scene was begun, one *Joſeph Ballard*[48] of *Andover*, whoſe Wife was ill (and after died of a Fever) ſent to *Salem* for ſome of thoſe Accuſers, to tell him who afflicted his Wife; others did the like: Horſe and Man were ſent from ſeveral places to fetch thoſe Accuſers who had the Spectral ſight, that they might thereby tell who afflicted thoſe that were any ways ill.

When theſe came into any place where ſuch were, uſually they fell into a Fit; after which being aſked who it was that afflicted the perſon, they would, for the moſt part, name one whom they ſaid ſat on the head, and another that ſat on the lower parts of the afflicted. Soon after *Ballard*'s ſending (as above) more than Fifty of the People of *Andover* were complained of, for afflicting their Neighbours. Here it was that many accuſed themſelves, of Riding upon Poles through the Air; many Parents believing their Children to be Witches, and many Huſbands their Wives, *&c.* When theſe Accuſers came to the Houſe of

[48] Ballard's Teſtimony againſt Samuel Wardwell may be ſeen in the *Records of S. W.*, ii, 152. Ballard gave his Age as about 41 Years, and mentions his Brother John. See onward.

any upon ſuch account, it was ordinary for other young People to be taken in Fits, and to have the ſame Spectral ſight.[49]

Mr. *Dudley Bradſtreet*,[50] a Juſtice of Peace in *Andover*, having granted out Warrants againſt, and Committed Thirty or Forty to Priſons, for the ſuppoſed Witchcrafts, at length ſaw cauſe to forbear granting out any more Warrants. Soon after which he and his Wife were cried out of, himſelf was (by them) ſaid to have killed Nine perſons by Witchcraft, and found it his ſafeſt courſe to make his Eſcape.

A Dog being afflicted at *Salem*-Village, thoſe that had the Spectral ſight being ſent for, they accuſed Mr. *John Bradſtreet* (Brother to the Juſ-

[49] This was not the Firſt of the Troubles by ſuppoſed Witchcraft at Andover, as appears by the following Record, the Original of which is in the Editor's Collection: "The Depoſition of Job Tylar, aged about 40 Yeares, Mary his Wife and Moſes Tyl[r] his Son aged betwixt 17 and 18 Years, and Mary Tyler aboue 15 Yeares olde.—Theſe Deponents witneſſe that they ſaw a thing like a Bird to come in at the Dore of there Houſe with John Godfery in the Night about the bignes of a Black Bird or rather bigger, to wit, as big as a Pigion, and did fly about; John Godfery labouring to catch it, and the Bird vaniſhed, as they conceived, through the Chinck of a joynted Bord; and being aſked by the Man of the Houſe wherefore it came, he anſwered, It came to ſuck your Wife. This was (as they remember) about 5 or 6 Yeares ſince.—Taken vpon Oath of the 4 above menconed P ties, this 27. 4. 59. Before mee

"SIMON BRADSTREETE.

"Ouned in Court M[r]h, 65, by Job Tylar and Moſes Tylar.

"E R. Sec

"Owned in Court 13 March, 65, by Mary Tyler on hir former Oath. E. R. Sec"

The Above is in the Autograph of Gov. Bradſtreet and Edward Rawſon.

[50] Son of Governor Simon Bradſtreet. In 1698, when the Indians attacked Andover, Bradſtreet and his Family were captured; but they were ſet at Liberty the ſame Day.

tice) that he afflicted the ſaid Dog, and now rid upon him: He made his Eſcape into *Peſcattequa*-Government, and the Dog was put to death, and was all of the Afflicted that ſuffered death.

[110] At *Andover*, the Afflicted complained of a Dog, as afflicting of them, and would fall into their Fits at the Dogs looking upon them; the Dog was put to death.

A worthy Gentleman of *Boſton*,[51] being about this time accuſed by thoſe at *Andover*, he ſent by ſome particular Friends a Writ to Arreſt thoſe Accuſers in a Thouſand Pound Action for Defamation, with inſtructions to them, to inform themſelves of the certainty of the proof, in doing which their buſineſs was perceived, and from thence forward the Accuſations at *Andover* generally ceaſed.

In *October* ſome of theſe Accuſers were ſent for to *Glouceſter*, and occaſioned four Women to be ſent to Priſon, but *Salem* Priſon being ſo full it could receive no more; two were ſent to *Ipſwich* Priſon.[52] In *November* they were ſent for again by Lieutenant *Stephens*, who was told that a Siſter of his was bewitched; in their way paſſing over *Ipſwich*-bridge, they met with an old Woman, and inſtantly fell into their Fits: But by

[51] I am unable to aſcertain the Name of the "worthy Gentleman." He was doubtleſs one of thoſe, like Mr. Calef, not afraid "to take the Bull by the Horns."

[52] Sarah, the Wife of Peter Cloyce and Mary Green were probably the two Perſons. The Latter ſeems to have made her Eſcape by the Aſſiſtance of John Shepard of Rowley. See Felt, *Hiſtory of Ipſwich and Hamilton*, 207.

this time the validity of ſuch Accuſations being much queſtioned, they found not that Encouragement they had done elſewhere, and ſoon withdrew.

Theſe Accuſers ſwore that they ſaw three perſons ſitting upon Lieutenant *Stephens's* Siſter till ſhe died; yet Bond was accepted for thoſe Three.

And now Nineteen perſons having been hang'd, and one preſt to death, and Eight more condemned, in all Twenty and eight, of which above a third part were Members of ſome of the Churches in *N. England*, and more than half of them of a good Converſation in general, and not one clear'd. About Fifty having confeſt themſelves to be Witches, of which not one Executed; above an Hundred and Fifty in Priſon, and above Two Hundred more accuſed. The Special Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* comes to a period, which has no other foundation than the Governours Commiſſion, and had proceeded in the manner of ſwearing Witneſſes, *viz.* By holding up the hand, (and by receiving Evidences in writing) according to the Ancient Uſuge of this Countrey; as alſo having their Indictments in *Engliſh*. In the Tryals, when any were Indicted for Afflicting, Pining, and waſting the Bodies of particular perſons by Witchcraft; it was uſual to hear Evidence of matter foreign, and of perhaps Twenty or Thirty years ſtanding, about over-ſetting Carts, the death of Cattle, unkindneſs to Relations, or unexpected Accidents befalling after ſome quar-

rel.[53] Whether this was admitted by the Law of *England*, or by what other Law, wants to be determined; the Executions ſeemed mixt, in preſſing to death for not pleading, which moſt agrees with the Laws of *England*, and Sentencing Women to be hanged for Witchcraft, according to the former practice of this Country, and not by burning, as is ſaid to have been the Law of *England*. And though the confeſſing Witches were many; yet not one of them that confeſſed their own guilt, and abode by their Confeſſion were put to Death.

[111] Here followeth what account ſome of thoſe miſerable Creatures give of their Confeſſion under their own hands.

We whoſe Names are under written, Inhabitants of Andover, *when as that horrible and tremendous Judgment beginning at* Salem-*Village, in the Year* 1692, (*by ſome*) *call'd Witchcraft, firſt breaking forth at Mr.* Parris's *Houſe, ſeveral Young perſons being ſeemingly afflicted, did accuſe ſeveral perſons for afflicting them, and many there believing it ſo to be; we being informed that if a perſon were ſick, that the afflicted perſons could tell, what or who was the cauſe of that ſickneſs.* Joſeph Ballard *of* Andover (*his Wife being ſick at the ſame time*) *he either from himſelf, or by the advice of others, fetch'd two of the perſons call'd the afflicted perſons, from* Salem-*Village to* Andover: *Which was the*

[53] See the Evidence againſt Suſanna Martin, i, Pages 177, *et ſeq.* See, alſo, Woodward's *Rec. of Salem Witchcraft*, i, 193-206, ii, 215.

beginning of that dreadful Calamity that befel us in Andover. *And the Authority in* Andover, *believing the ſaid Accuſations to be true, ſent for the ſaid perſons to come together to the Meeting-houſe in* Andover (*the afflicted perſons being there.*) *After Mr.* Bernard[54] *had been at Prayer, we were blindfolded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted perſons, they being in their Fits, and falling into their Fits at our coming into their preſence* (*as they ſaid*) *and ſome led us and laid our hands upon them, and then they ſaid they were well, and that we were guilty of afflicting of them; whereupon we were all ſeized as Priſoners, by a Warrant from the Juſtice of the Peace, and forthwith carried to* Salem. | *And by reaſon of that ſuddain ſurprizal, we knowing ourſelves altogether Innocent of that Crime, we were all exceedingly aſtoniſhed and amazed, and conſternated and affrighted even out of our Reaſon; and our neareſt and deareſt Relations, ſeeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehending that there was no other way to ſave our lives, as the caſe was then circumſtantiated but by our confeſſing ourſelves to be ſuch and ſuch perſons, as the afflicted repreſented us to be, they out of tender love and pitty perſwaded us to confeſs what we did confeſs. And indeed that Confeſſion, that it is ſaid we made, was no other than what was ſuggeſted to us by ſome Gentlemen; they telling us, that we were Witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and*

[54] Mr. John Barnard, who is duly commemorated by Dr. Allen in the *Amer. Biog. Dictionary*. He was Author of ſeveral Works.

they knew that we knew it, which made us think that it was ſo; and our underſtanding, our reaſon, and our faculties almoſt gone; we were not capable of judging our condition; as alſo the hard meaſures they uſed with us, rendred us uncapable of making our Defence; but ſaid any thing and every thing which they deſired, and moſt of what we ſaid, was but in effect a conſenting to what they ſaid. Sometime after when we were better compoſed, they telling of us what we had confeſſed, we did profeſs that we were Innocent, and Ignorant of ſuch things. And we hearing that Samuel Wardwell *had renounced his Confeſſion, and quickly after Condemned and Executed, ſome of us were told that we were going after* Wardwell.

Mary Oſgood, Mary Tiler, Deliv. Dane, Abigail Barker, Sarah Wilſon, Hannah Tiler.[55]

[112] It may here be further added concerning thoſe that did Confeſs, that beſides that powerful Argument, of Life (and freedom from hardſhips, and Irons not only promiſed, but alſo performed to all that owned their guilt.) There are numerous Inſtances, too many to be here inſerted, of the tedious Examinations before private perſons, many hours together; they all that time urging them to Confeſs (and taking turns to perſwade them) till the accuſed were wearied out by being

[55] Slight Notices of the Families to which theſe Perſons belonged may be ſeen in Abbot's *Hiſtory of Andover.*

forced to ſtand ſo long, or for want of Sleep, *&c.* and ſo brought to give an Aſſent to what they ſaid; they then aſking them, Were you at ſuch a Witch-meeting, or have you ſigned the Devil's Book, *&c.* upon their replying, yes, the whole was drawn into form as their Confeſſion.

But that which did mightily further ſuch Confeſſions, was their neareſt and deareſt Relations urging them to it. Theſe ſeeing no other way of eſcape for them, thought it the beſt advice that could be given; hence it was that the Huſbands of ſome, by counſel often urging, and utmoſt earneſtneſs, and Children upon their Knees intreating, have at length prevailed with them, to ſay they were guilty.

AS to the manner of Tryals, and the Evidence taken for Convictions at *Salem*, it is already ſet forth in Print, by the Reverend Mr. *Cotton Mather* in his *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, at the Command of his Excellency Sir *William Phips*;[56] with not only the Recommendation, but thanks of the Lieutenant Governour; and with the Approbation of the Reverend Mr. *J. M.* in his Poſtſcript to his *Caſes of Conſcience*; which laſt Book was ſet forth by the conſent of the Miniſters in and near *Boſton*.[57]

[56] It is a Wonder that Mr. Calef did not tell his Readers how ſhockingly Mr. Mather reported thoſe Trials; and it is accounted for only by preſuming that the Originals were not acceſſible to him, having been put into the Hands of Mr. Mather.

[57] Their Names were not printed according to the original MS. in the

Two of the Judges have alſo given their Sentiments in theſe words, *p.* 147.

The Reverend and worthy Author, having at the direction of his Excellency the Governour, ſo far obliged the Publick, as to give ſome account of the ſufferings, brought upon the Countrey by Witchcrafts, and of the Tryals which have paſſed upon ſeveral executed for the ſame.

Upon peruſal thereof, We find the matters of Fact and Evidence truly reported, and a proſpect given of the Methods of Conviction, uſed in the proceedings of the Court at Salem.

William Stoughton,
Samuel Sewall.

Boſton, October 11, 1692.

And conſidering that this may fall into the hands of ſuch as never ſaw thoſe Wonders, it may be needful to tranſcribe the whole account he has given thereof, without any variation (but with one of the Indictments annext to the Tryal of each) which is thus prefaced, P. 81, 82, 83.

[113] BUT I ſhall no longer detain my Reader from his expected entertainment, in a brief account of the Tryals, which have paſſed upon ſome of the Malefactors, lately Executed at *Salem*, for the Witchcrafts whereof they ſtood

Caſes of Conſcience. They *are* correctly printed from that MS., however, by the Editor, with ſome Remarks, in his Edition of Mather's *Relation*, xxii. The Order of Subſcription is entirely changed.

convicted. For my own part I was not preſent at any of them; nor ever had I any perſonal prejudice at the perſons thus brought upon the Stage; much leſs, at the ſurviving Relations of thoſe perſons, with and for whom, I would be as hearty a mourner, as any Man living in the World: *The Lord comfort them!* But having received a command ſo to do, I can do no other than ſhortly relate the chief Matters of Fact, which occurr'd in the Tryals of ſome that were Executed; in an Abridgment collected out of the Court-Papers, on this occaſion put into my hands. You are to take the truth, juſt as it was; and the truth will hurt no good Man. There might have been more of theſe, if my Book would not thereby have been ſwelled too big; and if ſome other Worthy hands did not perhaps intend ſomething further in theſe Collections; for which cauſe I have only ſingled out four or five, which may ſerve to Illuſtrate the way of dealing, wherein Witchcrafts uſe to be concerned; and I report matters not as an Advocate, but as an Hiſtorian.

They were ſome of the Gracious words inſerted in the Advice, which many of the Neighbouring Miniſters did this Summer humbly lay before our Honourable Judges, We cannot but with all thankfulneſs, acknowledge the ſucceſs, which the merciful God has given unto the Sedulous and Aſſiduous Endeavours of our Honorable Rulers, to detect the Abominable Witchcrafts, which have been committed in the Coun-

try; Humbly praying that the diſcovery of thoſe Myſterious, and Miſchievous wickedneſſes, may be perfected. If in the midſt of the many Diſſatiſfactions among us, the publication of theſe Tryals, may promote ſuch a Pious thankfulneſs unto God, for Juſtice being ſo far executed among us, I ſhall rejoice that God is glorified; and pray that no wrong ſteps of ours may ever ſully any of his glorious works.

The Indictment of George Burroughs.[58]

Eſſex ſſ. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Williemi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.—*

THE Jurors for our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen preſent, That *George Burroughs*, late of *Falmouth*, in the Province of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, in *New-England*, Clerk.

The 9th Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen Defenders of the [114] Faith, *&c.* And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Felonioufly hath uſed, practiſed, and exerciſed, at and within the Townſhip of *Salem*, in the County of *Eſſex* aforeſaid,

[58] As this Indictment does not appear to be among the Records, its abſence is accounted for as has been remarked of other ſimilar Documents before noticed; being taken from the Files and never returned.

in upon, and againſt one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem*-Village, in the County of *Eſſex*, Single-woman, by which ſaid wicked Arts the ſaid *Mary Wolcott*, the Ninth Day of *May*, in the fourth Year aboveſaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Conſumed, Waſted and Tormented, againſt the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and againſt the Form of the Statute in that Caſe made and provided.

Witneſſes, *Mary Wolcott*, *Sarah Vibber*,[59] *Mercy Lewis*, *Ann Putnam*, *Eliz. Hubbard.*

Endorſed by the Grand Jury, *Billa Vera.*

There was alſo a ſecond Indictment for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, the Witneſſes to the ſaid Indictment were *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott*, and *Ann Putnam.*

The third Indictment was for afflicting *Mercy Lewis:* the Witneſſes, the ſaid *Mercy Lewis*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Ann Putnam.*

The fourth for acts of Witchcraft on *Ann Putnam*, the Witneſſes, the ſaid *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Mary Warren.*[60]

[59] This Name as has been mentioned already, is doubtleſs *Bibber.*

[60] Of theſe abandoned Witneſſes, we have already had ſufficient.

The Tryal of G. B. *as Printed in* Wonders of the Inviſible World, *from P.* 94 *to* 104.

GLAD ſhould I have been, if I had never known the name of this Man; or never had this occaſion to mention ſo much as the firſt Letters of his name. But the Government requiring ſome Account of his trial, to be inſerted in this Book, it becomes me with all obedience to ſubmit unto the Order.

1. This *G. B.* was Indicted for Witchcrafts; and in the Proſecution of the Charge againſt him, he was Accuſed by five or ſix of the Bewitched, as the Author of their Miſeries; he was accuſed by Eight of the confeſſing Witches, as being an head Actor at ſome of their Helliſh Randezvouzes, and who had the promiſe of being a King in Satan's Kingdom, now going to be erected; he was accuſed by Nine perſons, for extraordinary lifting, and ſuch feats of ſtrength as could not be done without a Diabolical Aſſiſtance. And for other ſuch things he was accuſed, until about Thirty Teſtimonies[61] were brought

[61] About twenty appear in the Records, which ſee, Vol. II, Pages 109, *et ſeq.* Reſpecting Mr. Burrough's great Strength Samuel Webber, aged about 36, ſwore, that "aboute ceauen or eight Yeares agoe I liued at Caſco Bay, and George Burroughs was then Mincſter there, and haueing heard much of the great Strength of him ſd. Burroughs; he coming to our Houſe wee ware in diſcourſe aboute the ſame and he then told mee yt he had put his fingers into the Bung of a Barrell of Malaſes and lifted it vp and carryed it round him." Salem, Augt. 2d, 1692.

Ann Putnam ſwore, that on the 20th of April, 1692, ſhe ſaw the *Apperiſhtion* of Mr. Burroughs who tortured her in a terrible Manner; told her he had had three Wives,

in againſt him; nor were theſe judg'd the half of what might have been conſider'd for his Conviction: however they were enough to fix the Character of a Witch upon him, according to the Rules of Reaſoning, by the judicious *Gaule*, in that caſe directed.

[115] The Court being ſenſible, that the Teſtimonies of the Parties Bewitched, uſe to have a Room among the Suſpicions, or Preſumptions, brought in againſt one Indicted for Witchcraft, there were now heard the Teſtimonies of ſeveral Perſons who were moſt notoriouſly bewitched, and every day tortured by Inviſible hands, and theſe now all charged the Spectres of *G. B.* to

and had bewitched two of them to death; had killed Miſtreſs Lawſon becauſe ſhe was ſo unwilling to go from the Village; had killed Mr. Lawſon's Children becauſe he went to the Eaſtward with Sir Edmond [Andros] and preached ſo to the Soldiers; had bewitched a great many Soldiers to death when Sir *Edmon* was there, &c. At another time ſhe ſwore that the two Wives of Mr. Burroughs appeared to her in their Winding-ſheets, and told her how they were murdered. Alſo Mrs. Lawſon and her Daughter Ann appeared in the ſame Manner; alſo another Woman who told her ſhe was Goodman Fuller's firſt Wife, and that Mr. Burroughs killed her, becauſe of a Difference between her Huſband and him.

Simon Willard, aged about 42 Years, was at the Houſe of Mr. Robert Lawrence, of Caſco Bay, in Sept., 1689; ſaw Mr. Burroughs ſhow where he took hold of the Gun of about ſeven foot Barrel, which was behind the Lock; and Mr. B. ſaid he held it out with one Hand by ſo taking it, but the Deponent did not ſee him do it. Willard commanded the Fort at Caſco.

Thomas Greenſlett, aged about 40 Years, ſaid he was at Capt. Joſhua Scottow's at Black Point, about the breaking out of the late Indian War, where he ſaw Mr. B. lift a Gun of ſix foot Barrel or thereabout, by putting the Forefinger of his right Hand into the Muzzle; holding it out at Arm's Length. Lieut. Richard Hunnewell and John *Greinſlett* being preſent. The above are a few Specimens of the Evidence on which Mr. Burroughs was condemned and executed.

have a ſhare in their Torments. At the Examination of this *G. B.* the bewitched People were grievouſly harraſſed with preternatural Miſchiefs, which could not poſſibly be diſſembled; and they ſtill aſcribed it unto the Endeavours of *G. B.* to kill them. And now upon his Trial, one of the bewitched perſons teſtified, That in her *Agonies* a little Black-haired Man came to her, ſaying his name was *B.* and bidding her ſet her hand unto a Book, which he ſhewed unto her; and bragging that he was a Conjuror above the ordinary Rank of Witches; that he often perſecuted her, with the offer of that Book, ſaying, ſhe ſhould be well, and need fear nobody, if ſhe would but ſign it: but he inflicted cruel pains and hurts upon her, becauſe of her denying ſo to do.[62] The Teſtimonies of the other Sufferers, concurred with theſe; and it was remarkable, that whereas Biting, was one of the ways, which the Witches uſed, for the vexing of the Sufferers, when they cry'd out of *G. B.* biting them, the print of his Teeth would be ſeen on the Fleſh of the Complainers; and juſt ſuch a ſet of Teeth as *G. B*'s. would then appear upon them, which could be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of ſome other Mens.

Others of them teſtified, that in their Torments *G. B.* tempted them to go unto a Sacrament, unto which they perceived him

[62] Several of thoſe Girls before mentioned, ſwore to about the ſame thing.

with a ſound of Trumpet ſummoning of other Witches; who quickly after the ſound would come from all quarters unto the Randezvous. One of them falling into a kind of Trance, afterwards affirmed, that *G. B.* had carried her into a very high Mountain, where he ſhewed her mighty and glorious Kingdoms, and ſaid he would give them all to her, if ſhe would write in his Book; but ſhe told him, They were none of his to give; and refuſed the Motions; enduring of much miſery for that refuſal.[63]

It coſt the Court a wonderful deal of trouble to hear the Teſtimonies of the Sufferers; for when they were going to give in their Depoſitions, they would for a long while be taken with Fits, that made them uncapable of ſaying any thing. The chief Judge aſked the Priſoner, who he thought hindered theſe Witneſſes from giving their Teſtimonies? and he anſwered, He ſuppoſed it was the Devil. That Honourable perſon then replied, How comes the Devil ſo loth to have any Teſtimony borne againſt you? Which caſt him into very great confuſion.[64]

[63] The Girl who made oath to this was Mercy Lewis. It took place on the 9th of May, 1692, as ſhe ſaid: "Mr. Burroughs carried me up to an exceeding high Mountain and ſhewed me all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and told me he would give them all to me if I would writ in his Book, and if I would not, he would thro me down and break my Neck: but I tould him they were none of his to give, and would not writ if he throde me down on a hundred pichforks."—*Records S. W.* ii, 118.

[64] This is only Dr. Mather's Abridgment of the Record, it will be remembered. "Sus. Sheldon teſtifyed that Burroughs two Wives appeared in their Winding-ſheets,

3. It hath been a frequent thing for the bewitched People, to be entertained with Apparitions of Ghoſts of murdered People, at the ſame time that the Spectres of the Witches trouble them. Theſe Ghoſts do always [116] affright the beholders, more than all the other Spectral Repreſentations; and when they exhibit themſelves, they cry out of being murdered by the Witchcrafts or other Violences of the perſons who are then in Spectre preſent. It is further conſiderable, that once or twice theſe Apparitions have been ſeen by others, at the very ſame time they have ſhown themſelves to the bewitched; and ſeldom have there been theſe Apparitions, but when ſomething unuſual and ſuſpected hath attended the death of the Party thus appearing. Some that have been accuſed by theſe Apparitions, accoſting of the bewitched People, who had never heard a word of any ſuch perſons ever being in the World, have upon a fair Examination, freely and fully confeſſed the Murders of thoſe very perſons, although theſe alſo did not know how the Apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly ſeveral of the bewitched had given in their Teſtimony, that they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two Women, who ſaid they were *G. B*'s two Wives; and that he had been the death of them; and that the

and ſaid that Man killed them. He was bid to look upon Sus. Sheldon. He looked back and knockt down all (or moſt) of the afflicted who ſtood behind him."—*Ibid.* ii, 109.

Magiſtrates muſt be told of it, before whom, if *B.* upon his Tryal denied it, they did not know but that they ſhould appear again in the Court. Now *G. B.* had been infamous, for the barbarous uſage of his two ſucceſſive Wives, all the Countrey over. Moreover, it was teſtified, the Spectre of *G. B.* threatning of the Sufferers told them he had killed (beſides others) Mrs. *Lawſon* and her Daughter *Ann.* And it was noted, that theſe were the Vertuous Wife and Daughter of one, at whom this *G. B.* might have a prejudice, for being ſerviceable at *Salem*-Village, from whence himſelf had in ill terms removed ſome Years before, and that when they dy'd, which was long ſince, there were ſome odd circumſtances about them, which made ſome of the Attendants there ſuſpect ſomething of Witchcraft, though none imagined from what quarter it ſhould come.

Well *G. B.* being now upon his Tryal, one of the bewitched perſons was caſt into horror at the Ghoſts of *B*'s. two deceaſed Wives, then appearing before him, and crying for vengeance againſt him. Hereupon ſeveral of the bewitched perſons were ſucceſſively called in, who all, not knowing what the former had ſeen and ſaid, concurred in their horror of the Apparition, which they affirmed, that he had before him. But he, though much appalled, utterly denied that he diſcerned any thing of it, nor was it any part of his Conviction.

4. Judicious writers have aſſigned it a great

place, in the Conviction of Witches, when perſons are Impeached by other notorious Witches to be as ill as themſelves, eſpecially if the perſons have been much noted for neglecting the Worſhip of God. Now as there might have been Teſtimonies enough of *G. B*'s. Antipathy to Prayer, and the other Ordinances of God, though by his Profeſſion ſingularly obliged thereunto; ſo there now came in againſt the Priſoner, the Teſtimonies of ſeveral perſons, who [117] confeſſed their own having been horrible Witches, and ever ſince their Confeſſions, had been themſelves terribly tortured by the Devils and other Witches, even like the other Sufferers; and therein undergone the pains of many deaths for their Confeſſions.

Theſe now teſtified, that *G. B.* had been at Witch-meetings with them; and that he was the perſon who had ſeduced and compelled them into the Snares of Witchcraft: that he promiſed them fine Cloaths for doing it; that he brought Poppets to them, and thorns to ſtick into thoſe Poppets, for the afflicting of other People: And that he exhorted them, with the reſt of the Crue to bewitch all *Salem*-Village; but be ſure to do it gradually; if they would prevail in what they did.

When the *Lancaſhire* Witches were Condemned, I do'nt remember that there was any conſiderable further Evidence, than that of the bewitched, and than that of ſome that had confeſſed. We ſee ſo much already againſt *G. B.*

But this being indeed not enough, there were other things to render what had already been produced credible.

5. A famous Divine, recites this among the Convictions of a Witch; the Teſtimony of the party bewitched, whether pining or dying; together with the Joint Oaths of ſufficient perſons, that have ſeen certain podigious pranks or feats, wrought by the party accuſed. Now God had been pleaſed ſo to leave this *G. B.* that he had enſnared himſelf, by ſeveral inſtances which he had formerly given of a preternatural ſtrength; and which were now produced againſt him. He was a very puny Man, yet he had often done things beyond the ſtrength of a Giant.[65] A Gun of about 7 Foot barrel, and ſo heavy that ſtrong Men could not ſteadily hold it out, with both hands; there were ſeveral Teſtimonies given in by perſons of Credit and Honor, that he made nothing of taking up ſuch a Gun behind the Lock with but one hand, and holding it out like a Piſtol, at Arms-end. *G. B.* in his vindication was ſo fooliſh, as to ſay, that an *Indian* was there, and held it out, at the ſame time: whereas, none of the Spectators ever ſaw any ſuch *Indian;* but they ſuppoſed the black Man (as the Witches call the Devil; and they generally ſay he reſembles an *Indian*) might give him that Aſſiſtance.

[65] By the Teſtimony extracted in Note 61, it will be ſeen that the Doctor's Statement is rather beyond the Record. He may have, and doubtleſs had more than is now extant.

There was Evidence likewiſe brought in, that he made nothing of taking up whole Barrels fill'd with Mellaſſes, or Cyder, in very diſadvantageous Poſtures, and carrying of them thro' the difficulteſt places, out of a Canoa to the Shore.

Yea, there were two Teſtimonies, that *G. B.* with only putting the Fore-finger of his right hand into the Muzzel of an heavy Gun, a fowling piece of about ſix or ſeven foot Barrel did lift up the Gun, and hold it out at Arms-end; a Gun which the Deponents, though ſtrong men, could not with both hands lift up, and hold out at the Butt-end, as is uſual. Indeed one of theſe Witneſſes, was over-perſwaded by ſome perſons to [118] be out of way upon *G. B*'s. Tryal; but he came afterwards with ſorrow for his withdraw, and gave in his Teſtimony. Nor were either of theſe Witneſſes made uſe of as Evidence in the Tryal.

6. There came in ſeveral Teſtimonies, relating to the Domeſtick affairs of *G. B.* which had a very hard Aſpect upon him; and not only proved him a very ill Man, but alſo confirmed the belief of the Character, which had been already faſtned on him.

'Twas Teſtified, that keeping his two ſucceſſive Wives in a ſtrange kind of ſlavery, he would when he came home from abroad pretend to tell the talk which any had with them. That he has brought them to the point of Death, by his harſh dealings with his Wives, and then made the

People about him to promiſe that in caſe Death ſhould happen they would ſay nothing of it. That he uſed all means to make his Wives Write, Sign, Seal, and Swear a Covenant never to reveal any of his Secrets. That his Wives had privately complained unto the Neighbours about frightly Apparitions of Evil Spirits, with which their Houſe was ſometimes infeſted; and that many ſuch things have been whiſpered among the Neighbourhood. There were alſo ſome other Teſtimonies, relating to the death of People, whereby the Conſciences of an impartial Jury were convinced, that *G. B.* had bewitched the perſons mention'd in the Complaints. But I am forced to omit ſeveral ſuch Paſſages in this as well as in all the ſucceeding Tryals, becauſe the Scribes who took notice of them, have not ſupplied me.

7. One Mr. *Ruck*, Brother in Law to this *G. B.* teſtified that *G. B.* and he himſelf, and his Siſter, who was *G. B*'s. Wife, going out for two or three Miles, to gather Strawberries, *Ruck* with his Siſter, the Wife of G. B. rode home very ſoftly, with G. B. on foot, in their company, G. B. ſtept aſide a little into the Buſhes, whereupon they halted and hollow'd for him. He not anſwering, they went away homewards, with a quickened pace; without any expectation of ſeeing him in a conſiderable while: and yet when they were got near home, to their aſtoniſhment they found him on foot, with them, having a Baſket of Strawberries. G. B. immediately then

fell to chiding his Wife, on the account of what ſhe had been ſpeaking to her Brother of him on the Road: which when they wondered at, he ſaid, He knew their thoughts. *Ruck* being ſtartled at that, made ſome reply, intimating that the Devil himſelf did not know ſo far; but G. B. anſwered, my god, makes known your thoughts unto me. The Priſoner now at the Bar had nothing to anſwer unto what was thus witneſſed againſt him, that was worth conſidering. Only he ſaid, *Ruck* and his Wife left a man with him, when they left him. Which *Ruck* now affirm'd to be falſe; and when the Court aſked G. B. What the mans name was? His countenance was much altered; nor [119] could he ſay who it was. But the Court began to think that he then ſtept aſide, only that by the Aſſiſtance of the black Man, he might put on his inviſibility, and in that faſcinating Miſt, gratify his own jealous humour, to hear what they ſaid of him. Which trick of rendering themſelves inviſible, our Witches do in their Confeſſions pretend that they ſometimes are maſters of; and it is the more credible, becauſe there is demonſtration that they often render many other things utterly inviſible.

8. Faultering, Faulty, Unconſtant, and contrary Anſwers upon Judicial and deliberate Examination, are counted ſome unlucky ſymptoms of Guilt in all Crimes, eſpecially in Witchcrafts. Now there never was a Priſoner more Eminent for them, than *G. B.* both at his Examination

and on his Tryal. His Tergiverſations, Contradictions, and Falſehoods, were very ſenſible: he had little to ſay, but that he had heard ſome things that he could not prove, Reflecting upon the Reputation of ſome of the Witneſſes. Only he gave in a Paper to the Jury; wherein, altho' he had many times before granted, not only that there are Witches, but alſo that the preſent Sufferings of the Countrey are the Effects of Horrible Witchcrafts, yet he now goes to evince it, that there neither are nor ever were, Witches, that having made a compact with the Devil, can ſend a Devil to torment other People at a diſtance. This Paper was tranſcribed out of *Ady;* which the Court preſently knew, as ſoon as they heard it. But he ſaid, he had taken none of it out of any Book; for which his evaſion afterwards was, that a Gentleman gave him the Diſcourſe in a Manuſcript, from whence he tranſcribed it.

9. The Jury brought him in Guilty; but when he came to dye, he utterly deny'd the Fact, whereof he had been thus Convicted.[66]

The Indictment of Bridget Biſhop.

Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.

Eſſex ſſ. THE jurors for our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen preſent, That *Bridget Biſhop*, alias *Oliver*, the Wife of

[66] See Note 153, Page 163, Vol. I.

Edward Biſhop in *Salem*, in the County of *Eſſex*, Sawyer, the Nineteenth day of *April*, in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, *&c.* and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, wickedly and Felloniouſly hath uſed, practiced, and exerciſed at, and within the Townſhip of *Salem*, in the County of *Eſſex*, aforeſaid, in, upon, and againſt one [120] *Mercy Lewis*, of *Salem*-Village, in the County aforeſaid, ſingle Woman; by which ſaid wicked Arts, the ſaid *Mercy Lewis*, the ſaid Nineteenth day of *April*, in the Fourth Year above ſaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Hurt, Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Conſumed, Waſted and Tormented, againſt the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and againſt the form of the Statute, in that caſe made and provided.

Endorſed Billa Vera.

Witneſſes—*Mary Lewis*, *Nathaniel Ingarſoll*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Thomas Putnam*, Junior, *Mary Walcott*, Junior, *Ann Putnam*, Junior, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Abigail Williams*.

There was alſo a Second Indictment, on the ſaid *Biſhop*, for afflicting and practiſing Witchcraft on *Abigail Williams*. Witneſſes to the ſaid In-

dictment, were the ſaid *Abigail Williams*, Mr. *Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingarſoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Walcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*.[67]

The Third Indictment was for afflicting *Mary Walcott*, Witneſſes to which ſaid Indictment, were *Mary Walcott*, *Mercy Lewis*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingarſoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Ann Putnam*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Abigail Williams*.[68]

The Fourth Indictment was for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, Witneſſes to which ſaid Indictment, were the ſaid *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mercy Lewis*, Mr. *Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingarſoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Walcott*, *Abigail Williams*.

The Fifth Indictment was for afflicting *Ann Putnam*, Witneſſes to which ſaid Indictment, were the ſaid *Ann Putnam*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingarſoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Mercy Lewis*, *Mary Walcott*, *Abigail Williams*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*.[69]

[67] There are four Indictments recorded. The Witneſſes to the firſt correſpond with the Records. Thoſe to the ſecond differ by the Omiſſion of "John Bligh, and Rebeckah, his Wife; Samuell Shattuck, and Sarah, his Wife; William Bligh, William Stacey; John Loader."

[68] Theſe correſpond with the Original, with ſome very ſlight Difference in the Orthography; and ſo of thoſe to the fourth Indictment.

[69] It will be ſeen that much the ſame Set of Witneſſes figure in moſt of the Caſes; and it is ſurpriſing that ſuch *ſtereotype* Teſtimony ſhould have been ſo long impoſed upon the Judges.

The Tryal of Bridget Biſhop, *as printed, in Wonders of Inviſible World*, June 2, 1692. P. 104 to 114.

1. *SHE was Indicted for bewitching ſeveral perſons in the Neighbourhood. The Indictment being drawn up, according to the form in ſuch caſes uſual, and pleading not guilty, there were brought in ſeveral perſons, who had long undergone many kinds of miſeries, which were preternaturally inflicted, and generally aſcribed unto an horrible Witchcraft. There was little occaſion to prove the Witchcraft, it being evident and notorious to all beholders. Now to fix the Witchcraft on the Priſoner at the Bar, the firſt thing uſed was, the teſtimony of the bewitched; whereof ſeveral teſtified, that the ſhape of the* [121] *Priſoner did oftentimes very grievouſly pinch them, choak them, bite them, and afflict them; urging them to write their names in a Book, which the ſaid Spectre call'd Ours. One of them did further teſtifie, that it was the ſhape of this Priſoner, with another, which one day took her from her Wheel, and carrying her to the River ſide, threatned there to drown her, if ſhe did not ſign the Book mention'd, which yet ſhe refuſed. Others of them did alſo teſtifie, that the ſaid ſhape, did in her threats, brag to them, that ſhe had been the death of ſundry perſons, then by her named. Another teſtified, the Apparition of Ghoſts unto the Spectre of* Biſhop, *crying out,* You mur-

dered us. *About the truth whereof, there was in the matter of Fact, but too much ſuſpicion.*[70]

2. *It was teſtified, that at the Examination of the Priſoner, before the Magiſtrates, the bewitched were extreamly tortured. If ſhe did but caſt her Eyes on them, they were preſently ſtruck down; and this in ſuch a manner as there could be no colluſion in the buſineſs. But upon the touch of her hand upon them, when they lay in their ſwoons, they would immediately revive; and not upon the touch of any ones elſe. Moreover upon ſome ſpecial Actions of her Body, as the ſhaking of her head, or the turning of her Eyes, they preſently and painfully fell into the like poſtures. And many of the like accidents now fell out, while ſhe was at the Bar. One at the ſame time teſtifying, that ſhe ſaid,* She could not be troubled to ſee the Afflicted thus tormented.[71]

[70] The Anſwers of Bridget at her Examination were Common-ſenſe-like, and carried with them ſuch honeſt Simplicity, that it is Matter of Aſtoniſhment the Judges could not diſtinguiſh between the moſt puerile Abſurdities and Truth. It appears that ſhe had had a Huſband, named Oliver; hence ſhe is often called Bridget Biſhop, alias Oliver. During her Examination, the Afflicted apparently ſuffered exceſſive Torture. One "Sam. Gold" afterwards aſked her if ſhe was not troubled to ſee them ſo tormented. He reported that her Anſwer was "No. She was not troubled for them." This was viewed as ſtrong Evidence againſt her.

[71] Among all the hard ſwearing, that of "Suſ. Sheldon" was perhaps equal to any. She was about 18 Years old. At one Time, June 2d, 1692, ſhe ſaw the "Apperiſhtion" of Bridget Biſhop, and immediately came two little Children, Twins, which told her (Bridget) to her Face that ſhe had murdered them by ſetting them into Fits, whereof they dyed. One John Cooke, aged 18, ſwore about an Apple which jumped out of his Hand. John *Bly*e and his Wife, about a Sow of theirs being bewitched, and they "Judged Biſhop bewitched ſaid Sow." Elizabeth Balch of Beverly, aged about 38, Wife of Benj. B. Jur, "being at

3. *There was Teſtimony likewiſe brought in, that a Man ſtriking once at the place, where a bewitched perſon ſaid, the ſhape of this* Biſhop *ſtood, the bewitched cryed out that he had tore her Coat, in the place then particularly ſpecified; and the Womans Coat was found to be torn in the very place.*[72]

Salem ye very Day that Capt George Corwin was buried, and in ye Euening of ſaid Day coming from ſd. Salem vnto ſd. Beuerly, on Horſeback, with her Siſter, then known by the Name of Abigail Woodburie, now Abigail Waldron lieuing in Wenham, Wife vnto Nathaniell Waldron, riding behinde her; and were come ſo far as Crane Riuer Common ſoe called, Edward Biſhop and his Wife ouertook vs (on horſeback) who are both now in Priſon vnder Suſpition of Witchcraft." Bridget complained of her Huſband for riding into the Water, and of riding too faſt. Whereupon an Altercation aroſe, and hard Words were bandied between them. "And then ſd. Biſhop directed his Speech vnto vs as we rode along, and ſd. that ſhe had been a bad Wife vnto him euer ſince they were marryed, and reckoned vp many of her Miſcarriages towards him; but now of late ſhe was worſe than euer before (and that the ſhe Devill did come bodyly vnto her, and that ſhe was familiar with the Deuil, and that ſhe ſate vp all ye Night lo[n]g with ye Deuill) or Words to that Purpoſe. Said Biſhop's Wife made very little Reply."—*Records S. W.*, i, 167-8.

[72] "Suſ. Sheldon," in additional Teſtimony ſaid, that "on the fourth Day, at Night, came Goody Olliuer, M^rs^. Engliſh, Goodman Corie, and a black Man with a hi crowned hatt, with Books in their Hands. Goody Olliuer bid me touch her Book. I would not;" told me ſhe had been a Witch twenty Years. "Then there came a ſtreacked Snake, creeping ouer her Shoulder, and creep into her Boſom. Mrs. Engliſh had a Yello Bird in her Boſom, and Goodman Corie had two Turcles hang to his Coat, and he opened his Boſom and put his Turcles to his Breſt and gave them ſuck. Then Goodm. Core and Goody Oliuer kneeled downe before the Black Man and went to prayer. The Black Man told me Goody Olliver had been a Witch 20 years and an half. Then they all ſet to biting mee, and ſo went away. Goodwife Core told me ſhe lived in [B]oſton Priſon. Then ſhe pulled out her breſt and the Black Man gave her a thing like a blake Pig. It had no Hairs on it. Shee put it to her breſt and gave it ſuck. Goody Olliver told mee ſhee had killed four Women. Two of them were the Foſters Wifes and John Traskes Wife, and did not

4. *One* Deliverance Hobbs, *who had confeſſed her being a Witch, was now tormented by the Spectres for her Confeſſion. And ſhe now teſtified that this* Biſhop *tempted her to ſign the Book again, and to deny what ſhe had confeſſ'd. She affirmed, that it was the ſhape of this Priſoner, which whipped her with Iron Rods, to compel her thereunto. And ſhe affirmed, that this* Biſhop *was at a General meeting of the Witches in a field, at* Salem-*Village; and there partook of a Diabolical Sacrament, in Bread and Wine then adminiſtered.*[73]

5. *To render it further unqueſtionable, that the Priſoner at the Bar was the Perſon truly charged in this Witchcraft; there was produced many Evidences of other Witchcrafts, by her perpetrated. For inſtance,* John Cook *teſtified, that about five or ſix Years ago, one morning about Sun-Riſe, he was in his Chamber, aſſaulted by the ſhape of this Priſoner: which look'd on him, grinn'd at him, and very much hurt him, with a blow on the ſide of the head; and that on the ſame day about Noon, the ſame ſhape walked in the Room where he was, and an Apple ſtrangely flew out of his hand, into the lap of his Mother, ſix or eight foot from him.*[74]

name the other. Then they did all bite mee."—*Records S. W.* ii, 169-170. Then follows the "Death Warrant" of Bridget Biſhop, dated at Boſton, June the 8th, 1692, ſigned by Lieutenant Governour Stoughton.

[73] Her Teſtimony, as recorded, may be read in the Records as above cited, i, 148-9. It is a Tiſſue of Contradictory Nonſenſe; and if at all relied upon would excite no Wonder, in view of what had gone before.

[74] John Cooke was a young Man of ſome 18 years of Age. It ſhould be remembered that theſe accounts of Evidence are Dr. Mather's Ver-

[122] 6. Samuel Gray, *teſtify'd, that about fourteen Years ago, he wak'd on a Night, and ſaw the Room where he lay full of light; and that he then ſaw plainly a Woman between the Cradle and the Bedſide, which looked upon him. He roſe, and it vaniſhed; tho he found the Doors all faſt: Looking out at the Entry door, he ſaw the ſame Woman in the ſame garb again, and ſaid,* In God's name, what do you come for? *He went to Bed, and had the ſame Woman again aſſaulting him. The Child in the Cradle gave a great Screech, and the Woman diſappeared. It was long before the Child could be quieted; and tho it were a very likely thriving Child, yet from this time it pined away, and after divers Months died in a ſad condition. He knew not* Biſhop, *nor her name; but when he ſaw her after this, he knew by her countenance, and apparel, and all circumſtances, that it was the Apparition of this* Biſhop, *which had thus troubled him.*[75]

7. John Bly *and his Wife, teſtified, that he bought a Sow of* Edward Biſhop, *the Huſband of the Priſoner, and was to pay the price agreed unto another perſon. This Priſoner being angry that ſhe was thus hindred from fingring the Money, quarrel'd with* Bly, *ſoon after which the Sow was taken with ſtrange*

ſion. He has omitted the moſt important Item in Cook's Teſtimony. He ſwore, that after Goodwife Biſhop had ſtruck him on the ſide of the Head, he ſaw her go out under the end Window at a little Crevice about as large as one could thruſt his hand into. See *Records S. W.* i, 165.

[75] Gray gave his age as about 42 Years. His Teſtimony is pretty fully and fairly given above. See *Records, Ibid,* 152-3. He is noticed in Savage's *Dictionary,* ii, 299.

Fitts, jumping, leaping, and knocking her head againſt the Fence, ſhe ſeemed blind and deaf, and would neither eat nor be ſucked. Whereupon a Neighbour ſaid, ſhe believed the creature was over-looked; and ſundry other circumſtances concurred, which made the Deponents believe that Biſhop *had bewitched it.*[76]

8. Richard Coman *teſtified that Eight Years ago, as he lay awake in his Bed, with a light burning in the Room, he was annoyed with the Apparition of this* Biſhop, *and of two more that were ſtrangers to him; who came and oppreſſed him ſo that he could neither ſtir himſelf, nor wake any one elſe: and that he was the Night after moleſted again in the like manner; the ſaid* Biſhop *taking him by the Throat, and pulling him almoſt out of the Bed. His Kinſman offered for this cauſe to lodge with him; and that night, as they were awake diſcourſing together, this* Coman *was once more viſited by the Gueſts which had formerly been ſo troubleſome, his Kinſman being at the ſame time ſtruck ſpeechleſs, and unable to move hand or foot. He had laid his Sword by him; which thoſe unhappy Spectres, did ſtrive much to wreſt from him, only he held too faſt for them. He then grew able to call the People of his houſe; but altho they heard him, yet they had not power to ſpeak or ſtir, until at laſt, one of the People crying out, What's the matter! the Spectres all vaniſhed.*[77]

[76] This Teſtimony was given June 2d, 1692. The Blighs gave other Teſtimony, alſo, on the ſame Day. John *Blye*, Senior, aged about 57, and William Blye, aged about 15 Years. Theſe teſtified concerning the finding of *Poppitts*, as given in Volume i, Page 173-4.

[77] Coman gave his Age as about 32 years. His Nightmare Story

9. *Samuel Shattuck* teſtified, that in the Year, 1680. This *Bridget Biſhop*, often came to his houſe upon ſuch frivolous and fooliſh Errands, that they ſuſpected ſhe came indeed with a purpoſe of Miſchief. Preſently whereupon his Eldeſt Child, which was of as promiſing health and ſenſe, as any Child of its Age, began to droop exceedingly; and the [123] oftener that *Biſhop* came to the houſe, the worſe grew the Child. As the Child would be ſtanding at the Door, he would be thrown and bruiſed againſt the Stones, by an Inviſible hand, and in like ſort knock his face againſt the ſides of the houſe, and bruiſe it after a miſerable manner. Afterwards this *Biſhop* would bring him things to Dye, whereof he could not Imagine any uſe; and when ſhe paid him a piece of Money, the Purſe and Money were unaccountably conveyed out of a lock'd Box, and never ſeen more. The Child was immediately hereupon taken with terrible Fits, whereof his friends thought he would have died: Indeed he did almoſt nothing but cry and ſleep, for ſeveral Months together; and at length his underſtanding was utterly taken away. Among other Symptoms of an Inchantment upon him one was, that there was a Board in the garden, whereon he would walk; and all the Invitations in the world could never fetch him off. About ſeventeen or eighteen Years after, there came a ſtran-

is here a good deal abridged. The curious Reader muſt go to the Records, *as publiſhed by* Woodward, Vol. i, 163-4.

ger to *Shattocks* houſe, who ſeeing the Child, ſaid, *This poor Child is bewitched; and you have a Neighbour living not far off who is a Witch.* He added, *Your Neighbour has had a falling out with your Wife; and ſhe ſaid in her heart, your Wife is a proud Woman, and ſhe would bring down her pride in this Child:* He then remembered, that *Biſhop* had parted from his Wife in muttering, and menacing terms, a little before the Child was taken ill. The aboveſaid ſtranger would needs carry the bewitched Boy with him to *Biſhops* Houſe, on pretence of buying a Pot of Cyder. The Woman entertained him in a furious manner; and flew alſo upon the Boy, ſcratching his face till the Blood came, and ſaying, *Thou Rogue, what? doſt thou bring this fellow here to plague me?* Now it ſeems the Man had ſaid before he went, that he would fetch Blood of her. Ever after the Boy was followed with grievous Fits, which the Doctors themſelves generally aſcribed unto Witchcraft; and wherein he would be thrown ſtill into the Fire or Water, if he were not conſtantly looked after; and it was verily believed that *Biſhop* was the cauſe of it.[78]

10. *John Louder* teſtified, that upon ſome little controverſie with *Biſhop* about her Fowls, going

[78] Shattuck's Teſtimony occupies three and an half of Mr. Woodward's quarto Pages. His Age was 41. A part of his Story reminds one of the Man who appeared among his friends with an awfully bruiſed Face. On being aſked how it happened, replied that the Stones in the Road flew up and ſtruck him as he was walking along. Poor Shattuck was unqueſtionably injured in the ſame way.

well to bed, he did awake in the Night by Moonlight, and did clearly ſee the likeneſs of this Woman grievouſly oppreſſing him. In which miſerable condition ſhe held him unable to help himſelf, till near day. He told *Biſhop* of this; but ſhe utterly denied it, and threatned him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a Lord's Day, with the doors ſhut about him, he ſaw a black Pig approach him; at which he going to kick, it vaniſhed away. Immediately after ſitting down he ſaw a black thing jump in at the Window, and come and ſtand before him. The body was like that of a Monkey, the feet like a Cocks, but the face much like a Mans. He being ſo extremely afrighted, that he could not ſpeak; this Monſter ſpoke to him and ſaid, *I am a Meſſenger* [124] *ſent unto you, for I underſtand that you are in ſome trouble of Mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you ſhall want for nothing in this World.* Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his hands upon it; but he could feel no ſubſtance, and it jumped out of the Window again; but immediately came in by the Porch, though the doors were ſhut, and ſaid, *You had better take my counſel!* He then ſtruck at it with a ſtick, but ſtruck only the Groundſel, and broke the ſtick. The Arm with which he ſtruck was preſently diſenabled, and it vaniſhed away. He preſently went out at the back door, and ſpied this *Biſhop*, in her Orchard, going toward her Houſe; but he had not power to ſet one foot

forward unto her. Whereupon returning into the Houſe, he was immediately accoſted by the Monſter he had ſeen before; which Goblin was now going to fly at him: whereat he cried out, *The whole Armour of God be between me and you!* ſo it ſprang back, and flew over the Apple-tree; ſhaking many Apples off the Tree in its flying over. At its leap, it flung dirt with its Feet, againſt the Stomach of the Man; whereon he was then ſtruck dumb, and ſo continued for three Days together. Upon the producing of this Teſtimony, *Biſhop* denied that ſhe knew this Deponent. Yet their two Orchards joined, and they had often had their little quarrels for ſome Years together.[79]

11. *William Stacy* teſtified, that receiving Money of this *Biſhop*, for work done by him, he was gone but a matter of three Rods from her; and looking for his Money, found it unaccountably gone from him. Some time after, *Biſhop* aſked him whether his Father would grind her Griſt for her? He demanded why? ſhe replied, becauſe folks count me a Witch. He anſwered, no queſtion, but he will grind it for you; being then gone about ſix Rods from her, with a ſmall load in his Cart, ſuddainly the off Wheel ſlumpt, and ſunk

[79] John Louder gave his Age "about thirty two." He ſaid he lived with Mr. John Gedney in Salem about ſeven or eight Years ſince. He was doubtleſs afflicted by the ſame Agents as Samuel Shattuck was, and ſaw quite as much if not hurt as much. A black Pig ſeemed determined to keep him Company; but there were ſome other Things equally nondeſcript. See *Records*, i, 160-1.

down into an hole, upon plain ground, ſo that the Deponent, was forced to get help for the recovering of the Wheel. But ſtepping back to look for the hole which might give him this diſaſter, there was none at all to be found. Some time after he was waked in the Night; but it ſeemed as light as day, and he perfectly ſaw the ſhape of this *Biſhop*, in the Room troubling of him, but upon her going out, all was dark again. He charg'd *Biſhop* afterwards with it, and ſhe denied it not; but was very angry. Quickly after, this Deponent having been threatned by *Biſhop*, as he was in a dark Night going to the Barn, he was very ſuddenly taken or lifted from the ground and thrown againſt a Stone-wall; after that he was again hoiſted up, and thrown down a bank, at the end of his Houſe. After this, again paſſing by this *Biſhop*, his Horſe with a ſmall load, ſtriving to draw, all his Gears flew to pieces, and the Cart fell down; and this Deponent going then to lift a bag of Corn, of about two Buſhels, could not budge it with all his might.[80]

[125] Many other pranks of this *Biſhops*, this Deponent was ready to teſtifie. He alſo teſtified, that he verily believed, the ſaid *Biſhop* was the

[80] *Stacy* was of Salem, aged thirty ſix, or thereabouts. He goes back fourteen Years, which was the time of the Money Tranſaction. So that Dr. Mather's verſion of the Affair, as though it had juſt happened, is not a fair one. Stacy was often in the ſame Predicament of Shattuck and Louder, only Stone Fences, Stumps and other odd things knocked him about in a manner, which if it ſurpriſed the Magiſtrates, it probably ſurpriſed nobody who might be better acquainted with him. See *Wonders*, Vol. i, 172.

Inſtrument of his Daughter *Priſcilla's* death; of which ſuſpicion, pregnant reaſons were aſſigned.

12. To crown all *John Bly* and *William Bly* teſtified, that being employ'd by *Bridget Biſhop*, to help take down the Cellar-wall of the old Houſe, wherein ſhe formerly lived, they did in holes of the ſaid old Wall, find ſeveral Poppets made up of Rags, and Hogs Briſtles, with headleſs Pins in them, the points being outward. Whereof ſhe could now give no Account unto the Court, that was reaſonable or tolerable.[81]

13. One thing that made againſt the Priſoner was, her being evidently convicted of Groſs lying in the Court, ſeveral times, while ſhe was making her Plea. But beſides this, a Jury of Women, found a preternatural Tet upon her Body; but upon a ſecond ſearch, within three or four hours, there was no ſuch thing to be ſeen. There was alſo an Account of other People whom this Woman had Afflicted. And there might have been many more, if they had been enquired for. But there was no need of them.[82]

14. There was one very ſtrange thing more, with which the Court was newly entertained. As this Woman was under a guard, paſſing by the

[81] This Evidence has been referred to in a previous Note.

[82] It was no difficult matter, during a long and tedious Examination, ſo to bewilder and confound Perſons of firmer nerves than an aged Matron, and thus make them contradict themſelves, not knowing what to ſay and hardly what was ſaid to them. Reſpecting the Jury of Women, who ſearched her, the Reader may conſult the Records, if his Patience is equal to his Curioſity.

great and ſpacious Meeting Houſe of *Salem*, ſhe gave a look towards the Houſe; and immediately a *Dæmon* inviſibly entring the Meeting Houſe, Tore down a part of it; ſo that tho there were no perſon to be ſeen there, yet the People at the Noiſe running in, found a board which was ſtrongly faſtened with ſeveral Nails, tranſported unto another quarter of the Houſe.[83]

The Indictment of Suſanna Martin.

Eſſex ſſ. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.—*

THE Jurors for our Soveraign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, preſent, That *Suſanna Martin* of *Ameſbury* in the County of *Eſſex*, Widow, The ſecond Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the faith, *&c.* And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Felloniouſly hath uſed, practiſed, and exerciſed, at and within the Townſhip of *Salem*, in the County of *Eſſex* aforeſaid,

[83] It would be much more ſatisfactory if the matter of the Dæmon had been well atteſted. If a Noiſe, and the Tranſportation of *that Board* is all the Evidence that could be adduced that the Devil was at work there, it can hardly be ſaid to amount to much. Beſides, if the Devil had had any ill will towards the Meeting Houſe, he could eaſily have ſet fire to it. His Enmity to M. Houſes is generally admitted.

in, upon, and againſt one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem*-Village, in the County of *Eſſex*, Single-Woman, by which ſaid wicked Arts the ſaid *Mary Wolcott*, the Second Day [126] of *May*, in the fourth Year aforeſaid, and at divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Conſumed, Waſted and Tormented; as alſo for ſundry other Acts of Witchcraft, by ſaid *Suſanna Martin*, committed and done before and ſince that time, againſt the Peace of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England;* Their Crown and Dignity, and againſt the Form of the Statute, in that Caſe made and provided.

Return'd by the Grand-Jury, *Billa Vera.*

Witneſſes—*Sarah Vibber*, *Mary Wolcott*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mercy Lewis.*

The Second Indictment[84]. was for afflicting *Mercy Lewis.* Witneſſes—*Samuel Parris*, *Ann Putnam*, *Sarah Vibber*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Mercy Lewis.*

[84] This ſecond Indictment is given in full in the Records, for which ſee *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, Vol. i, 195-6.

The Trial of *Suſanna Martin*, *June* 29, 1692. As is Printed, in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, from p. 114 to p. 116.

1. SUSANNA *Martin*, pleading not Guilty, to the Indictment of Witchcrafts brought in againſt her; there were produced the Evidences of many persons very ſenſibly and grievouſly bewitched; who all complained of the Priſoner at the Bar, as the perſon whom they believed the cauſe of their Miſeries. And now as well as in the other Trials, there was an extraordinary endeavour by Witchcrafts, with cruel and frequent Fits, to hinder the poor Sufferers, from giving in their Complaints; which the Court was forced with much patience to obtain, by much waiting and watching for it.

There was now alſo an Account given, of what had paſſed at her firſt Examination before the Magiſtrates. The caſt of her Eye then ſtriking the Afflicted People to the Ground, whether they ſaw that caſt or no: There were theſe among other Paſſages between the Magiſtrates and the Examinate.

Magiſtrate. Pray, what ails theſe People?

Martin. I don't know.

Magiſt. But, What do you think ails them?

Martin. I don't deſire to ſpend my Judgment upon it.

Magiſt. Don't you think they are bewitched?

Martin. No, I do not think they are.

Magiſt. Tell us your thoughts about them then.

Martin. No, my thoughts are my own when they are in, but when they are out, they are anothers. Their Maſter—

Magiſt. Their Maſter; Who do you think is their Maſter?

Martin. If they be dealing in the black Art, you may know as well as I.

[127] *Magiſt.* Well, what have you done towards this?

Martin. Nothing at all.

Magiſt. Why, 'tis you or your appearance.

Martin. I can't help it.

Magiſt. Is it not your Maſter? How comes your appearance to hurt theſe?

Martin. How do I know? He that appeared in the ſhape of *Samuel,* a Glorified Saint may appear in any ones ſhape.

It was then alſo noted in her, as in others like her, that if the Afflicted went to approach her, they were flung down to the ground. And, when ſhe was aſked the reaſon of it, ſhe ſaid, I cannot tell, it may be, the Devil bears me more Malice than another.—

The Court accounted themſelves Alarm'd by theſe things, to inquire further into the Converſation of the Priſoner; and ſee what there might occur, to render theſe Accuſations further credi-

ble.[a] Whereupon *John Allen*, of *Saliſbury* teſtified, that he refuſing, becauſe of the weakneſs of his Oxen, to Cart ſome Staves at the requeſt of this *Martin*, ſhe was diſpleaſed at it, and ſaid, *It had been as good that he had; for his Oxen ſhould never do him much more ſervice.* Whereupon this Deponent ſaid, *Doſt thou threaten me, thou old Witch? I'll throw thee into the Brook:* which to avoid, ſhe flew over the Bridge and eſcaped. But as he was going home, one of his Oxen tired, ſo that he was forced to unyoke him, that he might get him home. He then put his Oxen with many more, upon *Saliſbury-Beach*, where Cattle did uſe to get Fleſh. In a few Days, all the Oxen upon the *Beach* were found by their Tracks, to have run unto the mouth of *Merrimack-River* and not returned; but the next day they were found come aſhore upon *Plum-Iſland.* They that ſought them, uſed all imaginable gentleneſs, but they would ſtill run away with a violence, that ſeemed wholly Diabolical, till they came near the mouth of *Merrimack-River;* when they ran right into the Sea, ſwimming as far as they could be ſeen. One of them then ſwam back again, with a ſwiftneſs amazing to the beholders, who ſtood ready to receive them, and help up his tired Carcaſs: but the Beaſt ran furiouſly up into the Iſland, and from thence thorough the Mariſhes, up into *Newbury* Town, and ſo up

[a] The Above is but a very ſmall Part of the Examination, as appears by the Records. See *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, Vol. I, P. 175.

into the Woods; and there after a while found near *Ameſbury*. So that of Fourteen good Oxen, there was only this ſaved: the reſt were all caſt up, ſome in one place, and ſome in another, Drowned.[85]

4. *John Atkinſon* teſtified, that he exchanged a Cow, with a Son of *Suſanna Martins*, whereat ſhe muttered, and was unwilling he ſhould have it. Going to receive this Cow, tho he Hamſtring'd her, and halter'd her, ſhe of a tame Creature grew ſo mad, that they could ſcarce get her along. She broke all the Ropes that were faſtened unto her, and tho ſhe was tied [128] faſt unto a Tree, yet ſhe made her eſcape, and gave them ſuch further trouble, as they could aſcribe to no cauſe but Witchcraft.[86]

5. *Bernard Peache* teſtified that being in Bed, on a Lords Day Night, he heard a ſcrabbling at the Window, whereat he then ſaw *Suſanna Martin* come in, and jump down upon the floor. She took hold of this Deponents Feet, and drawing his body up into an heap, ſhe lay upon him near two hours; in all which time he could neither ſpeak nor ſtir. At length when he could begin to move he laid hold on her hand, and pulling it up to his mouth, he bit three of her Fingers as he judged to the Bone. Whereupon ſhe went

[85] Lieut. John Allen was of Saliſbury; and his Age 45. The Accuſed troubled him at ſome previous Period, but the Time he does not ſtate.

[86] The Witneſs, John Atkinſon, was aged about 56 Years. His Evidence related to Matters of ſome five Years paſt. See *Wonders of Inviſible World*, Vol. I, Page 178.

from the Chamber down the Stairs, out at the door. This Deponent thereupon called unto the people of the Houſe to adviſe them of what paſſed; and he himſelf did follow her. The People ſaw her not; but there being a Bucket at the Left hand of the door, there was a drop of Blood on it; and ſeveral more drops of Blood upon the Snow, newly fallen abroad. There was likewiſe the print of her two Feet, juſt without the Threſhold; but no more ſign of any footing further off.[87]

At another time this Deponent was deſired by the Priſoner, to come unto a huſking of Corn, at her Houſe; and ſhe ſaid, *If he did not come, it were better that he did!* He went not; but the night following, *Suſanna Martin*, as he judged, and another came towards him. One of them ſaid, *here he is!* but he, having a Quarterſtaff, made a blow at them. The Roof of the Barn broke his blow; but following them to the Window, he made another blow at them, and ſtruck them down; yet they got up, and got out, and he ſaw no more of them.

About this time, there was a Rumour about the Town, that *Martin* had a broken head; but the Deponent could ſay nothing to that.

The ſaid *Peache* alſo teſtified, the bewitching of Cattle to Death, upon *Martin's* diſcontents.

[87] Peache's Evidence was of Troubles of about ten Years before. He ſaid his Age was about 42; and at the Time of the Witchcraft complained of, he lived with William Oſgood, of Saliſbury.

6. *Robert Downer* teſtified, that this Priſoner being ſome years ago proſecuted at Court for a Witch, he then ſaid unto her, *He believed ſhe was a Witch.* Whereat ſhe being diſatisfied, ſaid, *That ſome ſhe Devil would ſhortly fetch him away;* which words were heard by others, as well as himſelf; the night following, as he lay in his Bed, there came in at the Window, the likeneſs of a Cat, which flew upon him, and took faſt hold of his Throat, lay on him a conſiderable while, and almoſt killed him; at length he remembered what *Suſanna Martin* had threatened the Day before, and with much ſtriving, he cried out, *Avoid thou the Devil, In the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, avoid:* Whereupon it left him, leaped on the Floor, and flew out at the Window.

And there alſo came in ſeveral Teſtimonies that before ever *Downer* ſpoke a word of this Accident, *Suſanna Martin* and her Family had related how this *Downer* had been handled.[88]

[129] 7. *John Kembal* teſtified, that *Suſanna Martin,* upon a cauſeleſs diſguſt had threatned him about a certain Cow of his, that ſhe ſhould never do him any more good, and it came to paſs accordingly; for ſoon after the Cow was found ſtark dead on the dry ground, without any Diſtemper to be diſcerned upon her. Upon which he was followed with a ſtrange death upon

[88] Downer's Age was 52, and he belonged to Saliſbury. What he ſwore to was of Events which happened "ſeveral Years ago."

more of his Cattle. Whereof he loſt in one Spring, to the value of 30 *l.* But the ſaid *John Kembal*, had a further Teſtimony to give in againſt the Priſoner, which was truly admirable. Being deſirous to furniſh himſelf with a Dog, he applied himſelf to buy one of this *Martin*, who had a Bitch with Whelps in her Houſe, but ſhe not letting him have his choice; he ſaid, *He would ſupply himſelf then at one* Blezdels. Having mark'd a Puppy which he liked at *Blezdels*, he met George Martin, the Huſband of the Priſoner going by, who aſked whether he would not have one of his Wives Puppy's; and he anſwered, No. The ſame Day one *Edmund Eliot*,[89] being at *Martins* Houſe heard *George Martin* relate where this *Kembal* had been, and what he had ſaid; whereupon *Suſanna Martin* reply'd, *If I live I'll give him Puppies enough.* Within a few days after this, *Kembal* coming out of the Woods, there aroſe a little black Cloud in the *N. W.* and *Kembal* immediately felt a force upon him, which made him not able to avoid running upon the ſtumps of Trees that were before him, albeit he had a broad plain cart way before him; but tho he had his Axe alſo on his Shoulder to endanger him in his falls, he could not forbear going out of his way to tumble over them. When he came below the Meeting-Houſe, there appeared unto him

[89] Three Perſons of the Name of *Elliot* are implicated in the Witch Court Proceedings—Andrew, Daniel, and this Edmund, who was of Ameſbury. The Boſton *Eliots* were of this Lineage.

a little thing like a Puppy of a darkiſh Colour, and it ſhot backwards and forwards between his Legs. He had the Courage to uſe all poſſible endeavours of cutting it with his Axe, but he could not hit it; the Puppy gave a jump from him and went, as to him it ſeem'd into the Ground. Going a little further there appeared unto him a black Puppy, ſomewhat bigger than the Firſt, but as black as a Coal. It's motions were quicker than thoſe of his Axe. It flew at his Belly, and away at his Throat, ſo over his Shoulders one way, and then over his Shoulders another way, his heart now began to fail him, and he thought the Dog would have tore his Throat out. But he recovered himſelf, and called upon God in his diſtreſs, and naming the name of Jeſus Chriſt it vaniſhed away at once. The Deponent ſpoke not one word of theſe Accidents, for fear of affrighting his Wife. But the next morning, *Edmund Eliot* going into *Martins* houſe, this Woman aſked him, where *Kembal* was? He replied, at home a Bed, for ought he knew. She returned; they ſay he was frighted laſt night. *Eliot* aſked with what? She anſwered with Puppies. *Eliot* aſked, where ſhe heard of it, for he had heard nothing of it! She rejoined, about the Town. Altho' *Kembal* had mentioned the matter to no creature living.[90]

[90] John Kimball was of Ameſbury, and was "aged 45 or vpward." His ſwearing was to Occurrencies of twenty-three Years ſtanding; that about that Time he removed from Newbury to Ameſbury, having bought Piece of Land of Geo. Martin. The Teſtimony of Kimball occupies three and an half Pages of the *Records*, i, 218-21. He probably married Mary Hobbs, in Newbury.

[130] 8. *William Brown* teſtified, that Heaven having bleſſ'd him with a moſt Pious and Prudent Wife, this Wife of his, one day met with *Suſanna Martin:* but when ſhe approached juſt unto her, *Martin* vaniſhed out of ſight, and left her extreamly affrighted. After which time the ſaid *Martin* often appeared unto her, giving her no little trouble; and when ſhe did come, ſhe was viſited with Birds that ſorely peck'd and prick'd her; and ſometimes a bunch like a Pullets Egg would riſe on her Throat, ready to choak her, till ſhe cry'd out, *Witch, you ſhan't choak me!* While this good Woman was in this Extremity, the Church appointed a Day of Prayer on her behalf; whereupon the trouble ceaſ'd; ſhe ſaw not *Martin* as formerly; and the Church inſtead of their Faſt, gave thanks for her deliverance. But a conſiderable while after, ſhe being ſummoned to give in ſome Evidence at the Court, againſt this *Martin,* quickly this *Martin* came behind her, while ſhe was Milking her Cow, and ſaid unto her, *For thy defaming me at Court, I'll make thee the miſerableſt Creature in the World.* Soon after which ſhe fell into a ſtrange kind of Diſtemper, and became horribly Frantick, and uncapable of any Reaſonable Action, the Phyſicians declaring, that her Diſtemper was preternatural, and that ſome Devil had certainly bewitched her; and in that condition ſhe now remained.[91]

[91] This Teſtimony was by William Browne, of Ameſbury, whoſe Age was 70 Years. or "ther about." What he ſwore to happened, he

9. *Sarah Atkinſon* teſtified, that *Suſanna Martin* came from *Ameſbury*, to their Houſe at *Newbury*, in an extraordinary Seaſon, when it was not fit for any one to Travel. She came (as ſhe ſaid unto *Atkinſon*) all that long way on foot. She bragg'd and ſhow'd how dry ſhe was; nor could it be perceived that ſo much as the Soles of her Shoes were wet. *Atkinſon* was amazed at it, and profeſſed, that ſhe ſhould herſelf have been wet up to the Knees, if ſhe had then come ſo far; but *Martin* reply'd, *She ſcorned to be drabbled!* It was noted that this Teſtimony upon her Tryal, caſt her into a very ſingular confuſion.[92]

10. *John Preſſy* teſtified, that being one Evening very unaccountably bewildred near a Field of *Martin*, and ſeveral times as one under an Enchantment, returning to the place he had left, at length he ſaw a Marvellous light, about the bigneſs of an half Buſhel, near two Rood out of the way. He went and ſtruck at it with a Stick, and laid it on with all his might. He gave it near Forty blows; and felt it a palpable ſubſtance.

ſaid "about on or to and thirty Years ago." The Trouble ſeems to have been between Mrs. Martin, and Browne's Wife, who was afflicted with hyſteric Fits: inſomuch that ſhe was inſane. He had applied to Doctors Fuller and Croſby, but they ſaid her Complaint was ſupernatural, and that ſome evil Perſon had bewitched her. When in this State ſhe would not own him for her Huſband, and "aſked him whether he did not mett with one Mr. Bent of Abey in England by whom he was divorced."—*Records S. W*, i, 206-8.

[92] Sarah Atkinſon was probably the Wife of John Atkinſon, mentioned at Note 86. The "ſingular Confuſion" appears to have been gratuitouſly thrown in by Dr. Mather. It is not in the Record. Her Age is given as 48 Years, or thereabouts.

But going from it, his heels were ſtruck up, and he was laid with his back on the ground; ſliding as he thought into a Pit: from whence he recovered, by taking hold on the Buſh; altho afterwards he could find no ſuch Pit in the place. Having after his recovery, gone five or ſix Rood, he ſaw *Suſanna Martin* ſtanding on his Left hand, as the Light had done before; but they changed no words with one another. He could ſcarce find his Houſe in his return; but at length he got home, extreamly af[131]frighted. The next Day it was upon enquiry underſtood, that *Martin* was in a miſerable condition by pains and hurts that were upon her.

It was further teſtified by this Deponent, that after he had given in ſome Evidence againſt *Suſanna Martin* many Years ago, ſhe gave him foul words about it, and ſaid, *He ſhould never proſper, more particularly, that he ſhould never have more than two Cows: that tho he were never ſo likely to have more, yet he ſhould never have them.* And that from that very day to this; namely for Twenty Years together, he could never exceed that number; but ſome ſtrange thing or other ſtill prevented his having of any more.[93]

11. *Jarvis Ring* teſtified that about Seven Years ago he was oftentimes grievouſly oppreſſed in the

[93] John Preſſy, aged 53, and "Marah his Wif aged 46 or ther abouts." It comes out in this Evidence, but is not mentioned by Mather, that at ſome 20 Years previous, this John Preſſy and Wife had teſtified againſt Mrs. Martin, and that ſhe had accuſed them of taking a falſe Oath. Such was the Origin of much of the Teſtimony.

Night; but ſaw not who troubled him, until at laſt lie lying perfectly awake, plainly ſaw *Suſanna Martin* approach him. She came to him and forcibly bit him by the Finger; ſo that the print of the bite is now ſo long after to be ſeen upon him.

12. But beſides all theſe Evidences, there was a moſt wonderful Account of one *Joſeph Ring* produced on this occaſion. This Man has been ſtrangely carried about by *Dæmons.* From one Witch-meeting to another, for near two Years together; and for one quarter of this time they made him and kept him Dumb, though he is now again able to ſpeak. There was one *T. H.*[94] who having, as 'tis judged, a deſign of Engaging this *Joſeph Ring* in a ſnare of Deviliſm, contrived a while, to bring this *Ring* two Shillings in Debt unto him. Afterwards this poor Man would be viſited with unknown ſhapes, and this *T. H.* ſometimes among them; which would force him away with them, unto unknown places, where he ſaw Meetings, Feaſtings, Dancings; and after his return wherein they hurried him along thro the Air, he gave demonſtrations to the Neighbours, that he had indeed been ſo tranſported. When he was brought unto theſe helliſh meetings, one of the firſt things they ſtill did unto him, was to give him a knock on the back, whereupon he was ever as if bound with Chains, uncapable of

[94] Thomas Hardy of Great Iſland, at Paſcatequay. Why Mather conceals his Name, except by the Initials, is not known.

ſtirring out of the place, till they ſhould releaſe him. He related, that there often came to him a Man, who preſented him a Book, whereto he would have him ſet his hand; promiſing to him that he ſhould then have even what he would; and preſenting him with all the delectable things, perſons, and places, that he could imagine. But he refuſing to ſubſcribe, the buſineſs would end with dreadful ſhapes, noiſes and ſcreeches, which almoſt ſcared him out of his wits. Once with a Book, there was a Pen offer'd him, and an Ink-horn, with liquor in it, that ſeem'd like Blood: but he never touched it.[95]

This Man did now affirm, that he ſaw the Priſoner at ſeveral of thoſe helliſh Randezvouzes.

[132] *Note*—This Woman was one of the moſt Impudent, Scurrilous, wicked Creature in the World; and ſhe did now throughout her whole Tryal, diſcover herſelf to be ſuch an one. Yet when ſhe was aſked what ſhe had to ſay for herſelf, her chief plea was, that ſhe had led a moſt vertuous and holy life.

[95] Jarvis Ring's Caſe could have been nothing but one of Nightmare. Joſeph Ring, brother of Jarvis, was 27 years of Age. They belonged to Saliſbury. His Evidence compares very well with that of the Girls and other Miſcreants, foregone. The Teſtimonies of the Ameſbury Accuſers were taken before "Robert Pike, *Aſſiſt.*"

The Indictment of *Elizabeth How.*

Eſſex ſſ. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Williemi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.—*

THE Jurors for our Soveraign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen preſent, That *Elizabeth How*, Wife of *James How* of *Ipſwich*, the Thirty firſt Day of *May*, in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, *&c.* and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable Arts, called Witchcrafts and Sorceries, wickedly and Felloniouſly hath uſed, practiced, and exerciſed at, and within the Townſhip of *Salem*, in the County of *Eſſex* aforeſaid, in, upon, and againſt one *Mary Wolcott*, of *Salem*-Village, in the County aforeſaid, ſingle Woman; by which ſaid wicked Arts, the ſaid *Mary Wolcott*, the ſaid Thirty firſt Day of *May*, in the Fourth Year as aboveſaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Conſumed, Waſted and Tormented; and alſo for ſundry other Acts of Witchcrafts, by ſaid *Elizabeth How;* committed and done before and ſince that time, againſt the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and againſt the form of the Statue, in that caſe made and provided.

Witneſſes—*Mary Wolcott, Ann Putnam, Abigail Williams, Samuel Pearly,* and his Wife *Ruth, Joſeph Andrews,* and Wife *Sarah, John Sherrin, Joſeph Safford, Francis Lane, Lydia Foſter, Iſaac Cummins,* Junior.

There was alſo a ſecond Indictment for afflicting of *Mercy Lewis.*

Witneſſes—*Mercy Lewis, Mary Wolcott, Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam, Samuel Pearly* and Wife, *Joſeph Andrews* and Wife, *John Sherrin, Joſeph Safford, Francis Lane, Lydia Foſter.*

[133] The Tryal of *Elizabeth How*,[96] *June* 30, 1692. As is Printed In *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, from P. 126 to P. 132, incluſively.

1. *ELIZABETH How*, pleading, not Guilty to the Indictment of Witchcrafts, then charged upon her; the Court, according to the uſual proceeding of the Courts in *England;* in ſuch Caſes, began with hearing the Depoſition of ſeveral Afflicted People, who were grievouſly tormented by ſenſible and evident Witchcrafts,

[96] The Indictment does not appear in the Records, probably for the Reaſon that it had been given to or taken by Dr. Mather, and never returned. Mrs. How was of Topsfield, Wife of James How of that Town. Ephraim Wildes was the Conſtable who apprehended her. Her Examination was on the 30th of May, 1692, occupies two Pages, and was taken down by Mr. "Sam. Parris."

and all complained of the Priſoner, as the cauſe of their trouble. It was alſo found that the Suffers were not able to bear her look, as likewiſe, that in their greateſt ſwoons, they diſtinguiſhed her touch from other Peoples, being thereby raiſed out of them.

And there was other Teſtimony of People to whom the ſhape of this *How*, gave trouble Nine or Ten Years ago.[97]

2. It has been a moſt uſual thing for the bewitched perſons at the ſame time that the Spectres repreſenting the Witches, Troubled them to be viſited with Apparitions of Ghoſts, pretending to have been murdered by the Witches then repreſented. And ſometimes the confeſſions of the Witches afterwards acknowledged thoſe very Murders, which theſe Apparitions charged upon them; altho they had never heard what Information had been given by the Sufferers.

There was ſuch Apparitions of Ghoſts teſtified by ſome of the preſent Sufferers, and the Ghoſts affirmed that this *How* had murdered them: which things were fear'd, but not proved.[98]

[97] The Author has not taken up the reſpective Parties who gave Evidence. Among others, no Notice is taken of that of two Miniſters, namely, Mr. Samuel Phillips and Mr. Edward Payſon, both of Rowley. Mr. Phillips gave his Age as about 67. Mr. *Paiſon* did not ſtate his. Their Teſtimonies were paſſed over undoubtedly becauſe they did not in the leaſt criminate Mrs How; nor did they pretend that they had ſeen any Thing like Witchcraft.

[98] They were not only not proved, but there are no Teſtimonies recorded containing theſe Ghoſt Stories. The following Witneſſes are not noticed by Dr. Mather, viz.: Samuel Perley, aged about 52, and

3. This *How* had made ſome attempts of Joining to the Church at *Ipſwich*, ſeveral Years ago; but ſhe was denied an Admiſſion into that holy Society, partly thro a ſuſpicion of Witchcraft, then urged againſt her. And there now came in Teſtimony of preternatural Miſchiefs, preſently befalling ſome that had been Inſtrumental to debar her from the Communion whereupon ſhe was intruding.[99]

his Wife about 46. Deborah Hadley, aged about 70 Years; had lived near Elizabeth How ("ye Wife of James How, Jr. of Ipſwich 24 year.") She gave her a good Character. Mrs. Hadley teſtified on the 24th of June. The next Day Daniel Warner, Sen. gave in his Teſtimony. It was of the ſame tenor of Mrs. Hadley's. John Warner, Senr. alſo ſigned the ſame Evidence. They had been well acquainted with Mrs. How "aboue 20 yeers." So Simon Chapman and his Wife teſtified. Simon gave his Age as about 48 — "hath ben aquainted with the Wiuef of James How, iunr. as a Naybar for this 9 or 10 Yers;" never knew any harm of her, and "found hur jouſt in hur delling, favthfooll," &c.

[99] Againſt ſuch gratuitous, and to ſay the leaſt, hearſay Teſtimony, the Doctor ſhould, in fairneſs, have noticed ſuch Evidence as that referred to in the laſt Note. A few others muſt not be overlooked. Joſeph Knowlton ſtated that he had been acquainted with Mrs. How, as a Neighbor, and ſometimes boarded in the Houſe at his firſt coming to live in theſe Parts, which was about ten Years ago. He and his Wife Mary both gave her a good Character. His Age was "forty tu," and his Wife's "thurty-tu."

James How, Sen., aged about 94, teſtified that he had lived by Elizabeth, the Wife of James How, Junr, for about thirty Years; and, "ſetting a ſide humain Infurmity," ſhe always behaved well, becoming her Place as a Daughter and Wife in all Relations.

Reſpecting the Church Difficulty, referred to in the Text, one Jacob Foſter, aged about 29, ſwore, that "ſome Years agoe," as Goodwife How was about to join the Church, his Father was a Means of preventing it. Whereupon his Mare was loſt for ſeveral Days. When found ſhe looked as if ſhe had been miſerably beaten and abuſed. Sworn June 30th, 1692. Thomas Andrews of Boxford, aged about 50, told a more ridiculous Story about a Mare, belonging to Joſiah Comings, Senr of Topsfield.

4. There was a particular Depoſition of *Joſeph Safford*, that his Wife had conceived an extream Averſion, to this *How*, on the reports of her Witchcrafts; but *How* one day taking her by the hand, and ſaying, *I believe you are not Ignorant of the great ſcandal, that I lye under, by an Evil report raiſed upon me.* She immediately, unreaſonably, and unperſwadeably, even like one Inchanted, began to take this Womans part. *How* being ſoon after propounded, as deſiring an Admiſſion to the Table of the Lord, ſome of the Pious Brethren were unſatisfied about her. The Elders appointed a meeting to hear matters objected againſt her; and no arguments in the World could hinder this Goodwife *Safford* from going to the Lecture. She did indeed promiſe with much ado that ſhe would not go to the Church-meeting; yet ſhe could not refrain going thither alſo. [134] *How*'s affairs there were ſo canvaſſed, that ſhe came off rather Guilty, than cleared; nevertheleſs Goodwife *Safford* could not forbear taking her by the Hand, and ſaying, *Tho you are condemned before Men, you are juſtified before God.* She was quickly taken in a very ſtrange manner; Frantick, Raving, Raging, and crying out, *Goody* How *muſt come into the Church; ſhe is a precious Saint, and tho' ſhe be condemned before Men, ſhe is juſtified before God.* So ſhe continued for the ſpace of two or three hours; and then fell into a Trance. But coming to herſelf, ſhe cried out, *Ha! I was miſtaken!* afterwards again repeated,

Ha! I was miſtaken! being aſked by a ſtander by, Wherein? ſhe replied, *I thought Goody* How *had been a precious Saint of God, but now I ſee ſhe is a Witch: ſhe has bewitched me and my Child, and we ſhall never be well, till there be Teſtimony for her, that ſhe may be taken into the Church.*[100]

And *How* ſaid afterwards, *That ſhe was very ſorry to ſee* Safford *at the Church-meeting mentioned. Safford* after this, *declared herſelf to be Afflicted by the ſhape of* How, *and from that ſhape ſhe endured many miſeries.*

5. *John How,* Brother to the Huſband of the Priſoner teſtified that he refuſing to accompany the Priſoner unto her Examination as was by her deſired, immediately ſome of his Cattle, were bewitched to Death, leaping Three or four Foot high, turning about, ſqueaking, falling and dying at once; and going to cut off an Ear, for an uſe, that might as well perhaps have been omitted, the Hand wherein he held his Knife was taken very Numb; and ſo it remained, and full of pain for ſeveral Days; being not well at this very time. And he ſuſpected this Priſoner, for the Author of it.[101]

6. *Nehemiah Abbot* teſtified, that unuſual and miſchievous accidents would befall his Cattle, whenever he had any difference with this Priſoner.

[100] Joſeph Safford gave his Age about 60.

[101] John How gave his Age as about 50. The Doctor has made ſome wretched Miſtakes in his Abſtract of this Teſtimony. It was his Sow that "leaped up about three or foure foot hie," and fell down dead. The *ſqueaking* belonged to the Swine, and not to the Cattle.

Once particularly ſhe wiſhed his Ox choaked, and within a little while, that Ox was choaked with a Turnip in his Throat. At another time, refuſing to lend his Horſe, at the requeſt of her Daughter, the Horſe was in a preternatural manner abuſed. And ſeveral other odd things of that kind were teſtified.[102]

7. There came in Teſtimony that one Goodwife *Sherwin*, upon ſome difference with *How* was bewitched, and, that ſhe died, charging this *How* of having an hand in her Death. And that other People had their Barrels of Drink unaccountably miſchiev'd, ſpoiled, and ſpilt upon their diſpleaſing her.[103]

The things in themſelves were trivial; but there being ſuch a courſe of them, it made them the more to be conſidered. Among others, *Martha Wood* gave her teſtimony, that a little after, her Father had been employed in gathering an account of this *How*'s Converſation, they once and again loſt great quantities of Drink, out of their Veſſels, in ſuch a [135] manner, as they could aſcribe to nothing but Witchcraft. As alſo that *How* giving her ſome Apples, when ſhe had eaten of them, ſhe was taken with a very ſtrange kind of a maze, inſomuch that ſhe knew not what ſhe ſaid or did.[104]

[102] I do not find any Note of Nehemiah Abbot's Evidence in the Records.

[103] This has reference, perhaps, to the Ghoſt Stories darkly hinted at by the Dr. Mather in a previous Page.

[104] I have not noticed Martha Wood's Evidence among the Records. The "great Quantities of Drink" reported loſt, was probably found by ſome of the Witneſſes already noticed.

8. There was likewiſe a Cluſter of Depoſitions, that one *Iſaac Cummings*, refuſing to lend his Mare, unto the Huſband of this *How;* the Mare was within a Day or two taken in a ſtrange condition. The beaſt ſeemed much abuſed; being bruiſed, as if ſhe had been running over the Rocks, and marked where the Bridle went, as if burnt with a red hot Bridle. Moreover one uſing a Pipe of Tobacco for the cure of the Beaſt, a blew flame iſſued out of her, took hold of her hair, and not only ſpread and burnt on her, but it alſo flew upwards towards the Roof of the Barn, and had like to have ſet the Barn on fire. And the Mare dy'd very ſuddenly.[105]

9. *Timothy Perly* and his Wife, teſtified, not only that unaccountable Miſchiefs befel their Cattle, upon their having of differences with this Priſoner; but alſo that they had a Daughter deſtroyed by Witchcrafts; which Daughter ſtill charged *How*, as the cauſe of her Affliction; and it was noted that ſhe would be ſtruck down, whenever *How* were ſpoken of. She was often endeavoured to be thrown into the Fire, and into the Water, in her ſtrange Fitts; tho her Father had corrected, for charging *How* with bewitching her, yet (as was teſtified by others alſo) ſhe ſaid ſhe was ſure of it, and muſt dye ſtanding to it. Accordingly ſhe charged *How* to the very death;

[105] Cummin's Teſtimony occupies above two ſolid Pages. His Age was about ſixty Years. His Chriſtian Name was miſtaken by Mather, being Iſaac inſtead of Joſiah, as appears by the Records.

and ſaid, *Tho* How *could Afflict and Torment her Body, yet ſhe could not hurt her Soul, and that the truth of this matter would appear when ſhe ſhould be dead and gone.*[106]

10. *Francis Lane* teſtified, that being hired by the Huſband of this *How* to get him a parcel of Poſts and Rails, this *Lane* hired *John Pearly* to aſſiſt him. This Priſoner then told *Lane* that ſhe believed the Poſts and Rails would not do, becauſe *John Pearly* helped him; but that if he had got them alone without *John Pearly*'s help, they might have done well enough. When *James How* came to receive his Poſts and Rails of *Lane*, *How* taking them up by the Ends, they, tho good and ſound yet unaccountably broke off, ſo that *Lane* was forced to get Thirty or Forty more. And this Priſoner being informed of it, ſhe ſaid, *She told him ſo before: becauſe* Pearly *helped about them.*[107]

11. Afterwards there came in the Confeſſions of ſeveral other (penitent) Witches, which affirmed this *How* to be one of thoſe who with them had been baptized by the Devil in the River, at *Newberry-Falls:* before which he made them there

[106] Timothy *Perley* and his Wife Deborah teſtified, June 1ſt, 1692, that he was about 39 Years of Age, and his Wife about 33. The Abſtract above is exceedingly defective. See the *Records*, ii, 73-4.

[107] Francis Lane gave his Age as about 27, and ſaid that the Time the Witches afflicted the Rails was about "ſeauen" Years ago, and makes a long Story out of it; but it is of a Piece with moſt of the Evidence. Lane's Parentage has not been traced.

kneel down by the Brink of the River, and Worſhip him.[108]

[136] *The Indictment of* Martha Carryer.[109]

Eſſex ſſ. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Wilielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.—*

THE Jurors for our Soveraign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, preſent, That *Martha Carryer*, Wife of *Thomas Carryer* of *Andover*, in the County of *Eſſex*, Huſbandman, The Thirty firſt Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, *&c.* And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Felloniouſly hath uſed, practiſed, and exerciſed, at and within the Townſhip of *Salem*, in

[108] They affirmed that many of thoſe wretched Souls had been Baptized at Newberry Falls; and at ſeveral other Rivers and Ponds; and as to the Manner of Adminiſtration, the Great Officer of *Hell* took them up by the Body, and putting their Heads into the Water, ſaid over them, *Thou art mine, and I have full Power over the:* And thereupon they engaged and covenanted to renounce GOD, CHRIST, their *ſacred Baptiſm*, and the whole Way of *Goſpel Salvation;* and to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to oppoſe the Kingdom of CHRIST, and to ſet up and *advocate* the Kingdom of *Satan.*— Lawſon, *Second Edition*, 118. See, alſo, Vol. I, Page 102-3.

[109] Complaint was made againſt Martha Carrier on the 28th of May, by Joſeph Houlton and John Wallcott, both of Salem. John Ballard, Conſtable, arreſted her. John *Bayley*, Aſſiſtant Conſtable of Andover, ſummoned the Witneſſes. See *Records* S. *W.* ii, 54, 55, &c.

the County of *Eſſex* aforeſaid, in, upon, and againſt one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem*-Village, Single Woman, in the County of *Eſſex* aforeſaid; by which ſaid wicked Arts the ſaid *Mary Wolcott*, the Thirty firſt Day of *May*, in the fourth Year aforeſaid, and at divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Conſumed, Waſted and Tormented; againſt the Peace of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*; their Crown and Dignity, and againſt the Form of the Statute, in that Caſe made and provided.

Witneſſes—*Mary Wolcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam.*

There was alſo a Second Indictment for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, by Witchcraft. Witneſſes—*Elizabeth Hubbard, Mary Wolcott, Ann Putnam, Mary Warrin.*

The Trial of *Martha Carryer*, Auguſt 2, 1692. As may be ſeen in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, from P. 132, to 138.

1. *Martha Carryer* was indicted for the bewitching of certain perſons according to the form uſual in ſuch Caſes: Pleading not Guilty to her Indictment; there were firſt brought in a conſiderable number of the Bewitched perſons;

who not only made the Court ſenſible of an horrid Witchcraft committed upon them, but alſo depoſed, That it was *Martha Carryer*, or her ſhape, that grievouſly tormented them by biting, pricking, pinching and choaking them. It was further depoſed that while this *Carryer* was on her Examination before the Magiſtrates, the poor People were ſo tortured, that every one expected their Death upon the very ſpot; but that upon the binding of *Carryer* they were eaſed. [137] Moreover the looks of *Carryer* then laid the Afflicted People for dead, and her Touch, if her Eyes at the ſame time were off them, raiſed them again. Which things were alſo now ſeen upon her Tryal. And it was teſtified, that upon the mention of ſome having their Necks twiſted almoſt round by the ſhape of this *Carryer*, ſhe replied, *Its no matter, tho their Necks had been twiſted quite off.*[110]

2. Before the Tryal of this Priſoner, ſeveral of her own Children had frankly and fully confeſſed not only that they were Witches themſelves, but that this their Mother had made them ſo. This confeſſion they made with great ſhows of Repentance, and with much Demonſtration of Truth. They related Place, Time, Occaſion; they gave an Account of Journeys, Meetings, and Miſchiefs by them performed; and were very credi-

[110] Martha Carrier underwent the uſual Examination, which occupies two Pages, and the Original is in the Hand of Mr. Samuel Parris. The above is but a very unſatisfactory Abridgement of it.

ble in what they ſaid. Nevertheleſs, this Evidence was not produced againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, in as much as there was other Evidence enough to proceed upon.[111]

3. *Benj. Abbot* gave in his Teſtimony, That laſt *March* was a Twelve month, this *Carryer* was very angry with him, upon laying out ſome Land near her Huſbands. Her expreſſions in this Anger were, *That ſhe would ſtick as cloſe to* Abbot, *as the Bark ſtuck to the Tree; and that he ſhould repent of it afore ſeven Years came to an end, ſo as Doctor* Preſcot *ſhould never cure him.* Theſe words were heard by others, beſides *Abbot* himſelf, who alſo heard her ſay, *She would hold his Noſe as cloſe to the Grind-ſtone as ever it was held ſince his name was* Abbot. Preſently after this he was taken with a ſwelling in his Foot, and then with a Pain in his Side, and exceedingly tormented. It bred unto a Sore, which was lanced by Dr. *Preſcot*, and ſeveral Gallons of Corruption ran out of it. For ſix Weeks it continued very bad; and then another Sore bred in his Groin, which was alſo lanced by Dr. *Preſcot.* Another Sore bred in his Groin which was likewiſe Cut, and put him to very great miſery. He

[111] It appears from Lawſon's Account that ſuch Accuſations were much heeded. He ſays—"Several have confeſſed againſt their own Mothers, that they were Inſtruments to bring them into the *Devil's Covenant*, to the undoing of their Body and Soul. And ſome Girls of Eight or Nine Years of Age did declare that after they were ſo betrayed by their Mothers, to the Power of *Satan*, they ſaw the *Devil* go in their *own ſhapes* to afflict others."—Page 118-19.

was brought unto Death's door, and ſo remained until *Carryer* was taken and carried away by the Conſtable. From which very day he began to mend, and ſo grew better every day, and is well ever ſince.[112]

Sarah Abbot alſo his Wife teſtified, that her Huſband was not only all this while Afflicted in his Body; but alſo that ſtrange, extraordinary and unaccountable calamities befel his Cattle; their Death being ſuch as they could gueſs at no Natural Reaſon for.[113]

4. *Allin Toothaker* teſtified, that *Richard* the Son of *Martha Carryer*, having ſome difference with him, pull'd him down by the Hair of the Head, when he roſe again, he was going to ſtrike at *Richard Carryer*, but fell down flat on his back to the ground, and had not power to ſtir Hand or foot, until he told *Carryer* he yielded; and then he ſaw the ſhape of *Martha Carryer*, go off his Breaſt.

[138] This *Toothaker* had received a wound in the Wars, and he now teſtified, that *Martha Carryer* told him, *He ſhall never be cured.* Juſt afore the apprehending of *Carryer*, he could thruſt a Knitting-Needle into his wound four Inches deep, but preſently after her being ſeized, he was thoroughly healed.

He further teſtified, that when *Carryer* and he ſometimes were at variance, ſhe would clap her

[112] Benjamin Abbot was of Andover, and his Age was about 31.

[113] Sarah Abbot gave her Age as about 32 Years.

Hands at him and ſay, *He ſhould get nothing by it.* Whereupon he ſeveral times loſt his Cattle, by ſtrange Deaths, whereof no natural cauſes could be given.[114]

5. *John Roger* alſo teſtified, that upon the threatning words of this malicious *Carryer*, his Cattle would be ſtrangely bewitched; as was more particularly then deſcribed.[115]

6. *Samuel Preſton* teſtified, that about two Years ago, having ſome difference with *Martha Carryer*, he loſt a Cow in a ſtrange, preternatural, unuſual manner; and about a Month after this, the ſaid *Carryer*, having again ſome difference with him, ſhe told him, *He had lately loſt a Cow, and it ſhould not be long before he loſt another!* which accordingly came to paſs; for he had a thriving and well kept Cow, which without any known cauſe quickly fell down and died.[116]

7. *Phebe Chandler* teſtified, that about a Fortnight before the Apprehenſion of *Martha Carryer*, on a Lords Day, while the Pſalm was ſinging in the Church, this *Carryer* then took her by the

[114] Allen Toothaker was a young Man, aged about 22 Years. He may have received his Wound when the Indians attacked Andover, as mentioned in an earlier Note.

[115] John *Rogers* was of Billerica. He gave his Age as about 50. His Teſtimony takes up a quarto Page in the Records. Three Years later, viz., Auguſt 5th, 1695, he, with ſeveral others, was killed at Billerica by the Indians.

[116] Samuel Preſton gave his Age as about 41 Years. He ſwore he "loſt a Cow in a ſtrange Manner." That *ſtrange Manner*, it is evident from his Story, referred to the Way in which ſhe was caſt, and not being able to free herſelf, died. The *preternatural* and *unuſual* being thrown in by the Doctor.

Shoulder, and ſhaking her, aſked her, *Where ſhe lived?* ſhe made her no Anſwer, altho as *Carryer*, who lived next door to her Father's Houſe, could not in Reaſon but know who ſhe was. Quickly after this, as ſhe was at ſeveral times croſſing the Fields ſhe heard a Voice that ſhe took to be *Martha Carryers*, and it ſeem'd as if it were over her head. The Voice told her, *She ſhould within two or three Days be Poiſon'd:* Accordingly within ſuch a little time, one half of her Right Hand became greatly ſwollen and very painful; as alſo part of her Face; whereof ſhe can give no Account how it came. It continued very bad for ſome days; and ſeveral times ſince ſhe has had a great pain in her Breaſt; and been ſo ſeized on her Legs that ſhe has hardly been able to go. She added that lately, going well to the Houſe of God, *Richard* the Son of *Martha Carryer*, look'd very earneſtly upon her, and immediately her Hand which had formerly been Poiſoned, as is aboveſaid, began to pain her greatly, and ſhe had a ſtrange burning at her Stomach; but was then ſtruck deaf, ſo that ſhe could not hear any of the Prayer, or Singing, till the two or three laſt words of the Pſalm.[117]

8. One *Foſter*, who confeſſed her own ſhare in the Witchcraft, for which the Priſoner ſtood In-

[117] It is only neceſſary to ſtate that Phebe Chandler was but about 12 Years old, as a Reaſon that no Notice ſhould be taken of her Evidence; and notwithſtanding near two ſolid Pages of her Teſtimony are in the Records. However, Bridget Chandler, her Mother, aged 40 Years, corroborated the Daughter's Story.

dicted, affirmed, that ſhe had ſeen the Priſoner at ſome of their Witch-meetings, and that it was this *Carryer*, who perſwaded her to be a Witch. She confeſſed that the Devil carried them on [139] a Pole to a Witch-meeting, but the Pole broke, and ſhe hanging about *Carryer's* Neck, they both fell down, and ſhe then received an hurt by the fall, whereof ſhe was not at this very time recovered.[118]

9. One *Lacy*, who likewiſe confeſſed her ſhare in this Witchcraft, now teſtified that ſhe and the Priſoner, were once bodily preſent, at a Witch-meeting in *Salem*-Village, and that ſhe knew the Priſoner to be a Witch, and to have been at a Diabolical Sacrament, and that the Priſoner was the undoing of her and her Children, by enticing them into the Snare of the Devil.[119]

10. Another *Lacy*, who alſo confeſſed her ſhare in this Witchcraft, now teſtified that the Priſoner was at the Witch meeting in *Salem*-Village, where they had Bread and Wine adminiſtred unto them.

11. In the time of this Priſoners Tryal, one *Suſanna Shelden*[120] in open Court, had her Hands unaccountably tied together, with a Wheel-band, ſo faſt, that without cutting, it could not be looſed. It was done by a Spectre; and the Sufferer affirm'd, it was the Priſoners.

[118] This has reference to Ann Foſter, of Salem Village. See *Records S. W.*, ii, 136-7.

[119] Mary Lacy was Wife of Lawrence Lacy, of Andover, and Daughter of Ann Foſter. See *Ibid.*, ii, 139-40 This "other Lacy" was alſo named "Mary." *Ibid.*, 142.

[120] Suſanna Sheldon was a ready Witneſs in a large Number of Caſes, as has already been noticed.

Memorandum. This *Rampant Hag, Martha Carryer,* was the perſon of whom the Confeſſions of the Witches and of her own Children, among the reſt, agreed, that the Devil had promiſed her, ſhe ſhould be Queen of Hell.[121]

Thus far the Account given in *Wonders of the Inviſible World;* in which ſetting aſide ſuch words as theſe, in the Tryal of *G. B.* viz. [*They* (i. e.) *the Witneſſes were enough to fix the character of a Witch upon him.*]

In the Tryal of *Biſhop*, theſe words, [*but there was no need of them*] i. e. of further Teſtimony.

In the Tryal of *How*, where it is ſaid, [and there came in Teſtimony of preternatural Miſchiefs, preſently befalling ſome that had been inſtrumental to debar her from the Communion,

[121] No Teſtimony appears to have been omitted that could be tortured by any Conſtruction againſt "this rampant Hag," by the Author, while all that went to clear her was rejected. Fortunately the Caſe is changed, and the whole is ſpread before diſintereſted Inquirers, or enough upon which to form a correct Judgment. Mr. Francis Dane, the ſecond Miniſter of Andover, dared to give his Thoughts upon the Witchcraft Caſes. Theſe he communicated to the Court, and the Scribe recorded them among the Evidence. He ſaid he had lived above forty Years in Andover, and in his "healthfull Yeares had been frequent among ye Inhabitants in their Habitations," and never heard of anything of the Nature of Witchcraft until the Arreſts the laſt Summer (1692). If there were any Suſpicions that Martha Carrier was a Witch, before ſhe was apprehended, he ſaid he had never heard of it; and "as for any other Perſons, I had no Suſpicion of them, and had Charity been put on, the Diuel would not have had ſuch an Advantage againſt us, and I beleeve many innocent Perſons have been accuſed." This Teſtimony of an aged and worthy Gentleman (then 77), well acquainted with all the Circumſtances, and with the Accuſed, ſhould accompany that againſt "the rampant Hag."

whereupon ſhe was *intruding.*] *Martin* is call'd [one of the moſt impudent, ſcurrilous, wicked Creatures in the World.] In his Account of *Martha Carryer,* he is pleaſed to call her [a *Rampant Hag,*] *&c.*

Theſe Expreſſions as they manifeſt, that he wrote more like an Advocate than an Hiſtorian; ſo alſo that thoſe that were his Imployers were not miſtaken in their choice of him for that work, however he may have miſt it in other things.

As in his owning (in the Tryal of *G. B.*) That the *Teſtimony of the bewitched, and confeſſors was not enough againſt the Accuſed,* for it is known that not only in *New-England,* ſuch Evidence has been taken for ſufficient, but alſo in *England,* as himſelf there owns, and will alſo hold true of *Scotland, &c.* they having proceeded upon ſuch Evidence, to the taking away of the Lives of many, to aſſert that this is not enough, is to tell the World that ſuch Executions were but ſo many Bloody Murders; which ſurely was not his intent to ſay.[122]

[140] His telling that the Court began to think

[122] This Paſſage cauſed Dr. Mather to utter ſome very wrathful Expreſſions againſt the Author. He ſays, or rather, his Defenders for him: "What was done in the dark Time of our Troubles from the *Inviſible World,* all honeſt Men believe, they did in Conſcience of the *Oath* of God upon them, and they followed unto the beſt of their Underſtanding, as we are informed, the Precedents of *England* and *Scotland,* and *other Nations* on ſuch a dark and doleful Occaſion. When they found the Matter carried beyond the Reach of Mortals, they ſtopt."—*Some Few Remarks,* 6; *Magnalia,* B. ii, 64.

that *Burroughs* ſtept aſide to put on Inviſibility, is a rendring them ſo mean Philosophers, and ſuch weak Chriſtians, as to be fit to be impoſed upon by any ſilly pretender.

His calling the Evidence againſt *How* trivial, and others againſt *Burroughs*, he accounts no part of his Conviction; and that of lifting a Gun with one Finger, its being not made uſe of as Evidence, renders the whole but the more perplext. (Not to mention the many miſtakes therein contain'd.)

Yet all this (and more that might have been hinted at) does not hinder, but that his Account of the manner of Trials of thoſe for Witchcraft is as faithfully related as any Tryals of that kind, that was ever yet made publick; and it may alſo be reaſonably thought that there was as careful a Scrutiny, and as unqeſtion'd Evidences improved, as had been formerly uſed in the Tryals of others, for ſuch crimes in other places.[123] Tho indeed a ſecond part might be very uſeful to ſet forth which was the Evidence Convictive in theſe Tryals, for it is not ſuppoſed, that Romantick or Ridiculous ſtories ſhould have any influence, ſuch as biting a Spectres Finger ſo that the Blood flowed out, or ſuch as *Shattock's* Story of 12 Years ſtanding, which yet was preſently 18 Years or more, and yet a Man of that excellent Memory, as to be able to recall a ſmall difference

[123] See Volume I, Pages 35, 86.

his Wife had with another Woman when Eighten Years were paſt.

As it is not to be ſuppoſed that ſuch as theſe could Influence any Judge or Jury, ſo not unkindneſs to relations, or God's having given to one Man more ſtrength than to ſome others, the over-ſetting of Carts, or the death of Cattle, nor yet Excreſcencies (call'd Tets) nor little bits of Rags tied together (call'd Poppets.) Much leſs any perſons illneſs, or having their Cloaths rent when a Spectre has been well hanged, much leſs the burning the Mares Fart, mentioned in the Tryal of *How*.

None of theſe being in the leaſt capable of proving the Indictment; The ſuppoſed Criminals were Indicted for Afflicting, *&c.* ſuch and ſuch particular perſons by Witchcraft, to which none of theſe Evidences have one word to ſay, and the Afflicted and Confeſſors being declared not enough, the matter needs yet further explaining.

But to proceed, the General Court having ſat and enacted Laws, particularly one againſt Witchcraft, aſſigning the Penalty of Death to any that ſhall feed, reward or employ, *&c.* Evil Spirits, though it has not yet been explained what is intended thereby, or what it is to feed, reward or imploy Devils, *&c.* yet ſome of the Legiſlators have given this inſtead of an Explanation, that

they had therein but Copied the Law of another Country.[124]

January 3. By vertue of an Act of the General Court, the firſt Superior Court was held at *Salem*, for the County of *Eſſex*, the Judges appointed were Mr. *William Stoughton* (the Lieutenant Governor) *Thomas* [141] *Danforth*, *John Richards*, *Wait Winthorp*, and *Samuel Sewall*, Eſquires. Where Ignoramus was found upon the ſeveral Bills of Indictment againſt Thirty, and *Billa-Vera* againſt Twenty ſix more; of all theſe Three only were found Guilty by the Jewry upon Trial, two of which were (as appears by their Behaviour) the moſt ſenſeleſs and Ignorant Creatures that could be found; beſides which it does not appear what came in againſt thoſe more than againſt the reſt that were acquitted.[125]

The Third was the Wife of *Wardwell*, who was one of the Twenty Executed, and it ſeems they had both confeſſed themſelves Guilty; but he retracting his ſaid Confeſſion, was tried and Executed; it is ſuppoſed that this Woman fearing her Huſbands fate, was not ſo ſtiff in her denials of her former Confeſſion, ſuch as it was. Theſe Three received Sentence of Death.[126]

[124] What the Laws of England were on the Subject of Witchcraft has been exhibited in the Introduction to the firſt Volume. Their Abrogation by Parliament, through the exertions of Lord Talbot, took place in 1736. See Douglaſs' *Summary*, i, 451.

[125] I do not find the Court Proceedings at this Period.

[126] The Indictments and Examination of Samuel Wardwell may be ſeen in the Records, in the uſual Form. He was of Andover, and is ſtyled Carpenter. His firſt Indictment was for afflicting one

At theſe Tryals ſome of the Jewry made Inquiry of the Court, what Account they ought to make of the Spectre Evidence? and received for Anſwer [as much as of Chips in Wort][127]

January 31, 169$\frac{2}{3}$. The Superior Court began at *Charleſtown*, for the County of *Middleſex*, Mr. *Stoughton*, M. *Danforth*, M. *Winthorp*, and Mr. *Sewall* Judges, where ſeveral had Ignoramus returned upon their Bills of Indictment, and *Billa Vera* upon others.[128]

Martha Sprague of Boxford, in Auguſt laſt (1692). The ſecond charges, that "about 20 Yeares agoe, in the Towne of Andivor, he the ſaid Samuel Wardell, with the Evill Speritt the Devill [did felloniouſly make] a Couenant wherein he promiſed to honor, worſhip and belieue the Devill Contrary to the Stattute." His Examination was before John Higginſon, Esq. on Sept. 1ſt, 1692. He was then about 46 Years old. His ſtrange Anſwers clearly indicate a ſtate of Inſanity. Martha Sprague, aged 16, ſwore to being bewitched by him. Ephraim Foſter of Andover, aged about 34, ſwore that he foretold Events by looking in people's Hands; "would caſt his Eyes down upon ye ground allways before he told enything." Thomas Chandler, aged about 65, often heard ſaid Wardwell tell young Perſons their Fortunes. Joſeph Ballard, aged about 41, ſwore that his Brother John Ballard told him that Samuel Wardwell told him, that he (Wardwell) had bewitched his (Joſeph Ballard's) Wife. Abigail Martin of Andover, aged 16, ſaid that ſome time laſt Winter S. Wardwell and John *Farnam* were at her Fathers. W. told F.'s Fortune. He alſo told Jeams Bridge's Fortune.' See *Records S. W.* ii, 146-153.

[127] *Q. D. of no Account whatever.* I do not find that the Expounders of Proverbs have fallen upon this.

[128] One of the Original *Billa veras* is now before me, and runs thus: "The Depoſition of Mercy Lewis Aged [19] This Deponent teſtifieth and ſaith that laſt Night Philip Engliſh and his Wife came to mee, alſo Goodwife Daſten, Eliza Johnſon, and Old Pharoh of Linn: ſd. Mrs. Engliſh vrged mee to ſet my Hand to a Booke, and told mee ſhe would afflict me dreadfully and kill me if I did not: Said alſo if I would but touch the Booke I ſhould bee well, or elſe I ſhould never. Mrs. Engliſh ſaid ſhe might bring the Book

In the time the Court ſat, word was brought in, that a Reprieve was ſent to *Salem*, and had prevented the Execution of Seven of thoſe that were there Condemned, which ſo moved the chief Judge, that he ſaid to this effect, *We were in a way to have cleared the Land of theſe, &c. who it is obſtructs the courſe of Juſtice I know not; the Lord be merciful to the Countrey*, and ſo went off the Bench, and came no more that Court:[129] The moſt remarkable of the Tryals, was of *Sarah Daſton*, ſhe was a Woman of about 70 or 80 Years of Age, To uſher in her Tryal, a report went before, that if there were a Witch in the World ſhe was one, as having been ſo accounted of, for 20 or 30 Years; which drew many People from *Boſton, &c.* to hear her Tryal. There were a multitude of Witneſſes produced againſt her; but what Teſtimony they gave in ſeemed wholly forreign, as of accidents, illneſs, *&c.* befalling them, or theirs after ſome Quarrel; what theſe teſtified was much of it of Actions ſaid to be done 20 Years before that time. The Spectre-Evidence was not made uſe of in theſe Tryals, ſo that the Jewry ſoon brought her in not Guilty,

now ſhe thought everie one of them would bee cleared, and now at this preſent Time before the Grandiury ſd Philip Engliſh, his Wife, and old Pharoh, come into the Roome, or their Shape and ſtroke mee on the Breſt, and almoſt choaked mee, and ſaid they would ſtrangle me if they could. *Owned before the Grandiury upon the Oath ſhe had taken, Janr 12th*, 169$\frac{2}{3}$. *Atteſts* Robert Payne, *Foreman.*" All in the Autograph of Mr. Saml. Parris, except the Signature of Payne. See APPENDIX, NUMBER III.

[129] The "Chief Judge," it will be remembered, was Licut. Gov. Stoughton.

her Daughter and Grand-daughter, and the reſt that were then tried, were alſo acquitted. After ſhe was cleared Judge *Danforth* Admoniſhed her in theſe words, *Woman, Woman, repent, there are ſhrewd things come in againſt you;* ſhe was remanded to Priſon for her Fees, and there in a ſhort time expired.[130] One of *Boſton* that had been at the Tryal of *Daſton*, being the ſame Evening in company with one of the Judges [142] in a publick place, acquainted him that ſome that had been both at the Tryals at *Salem* and at this at *Charleſtown*, had aſſerted that there was more Evidence againſt the ſaid *Daſton* than againſt any at *Salem*, to which the ſaid Judge conceeded, ſaying, *That it was ſo.* It was replied by that perſon, *that he dare give it under his hand, that there was not enough come in againſt her to bear a juſt reproof.*

April 25, 1693. The firſt Superior Court was held at *Boſton*, for the County of *Suffolk*, the Judges were the Lieutenant Governour, Mr. *Danforth*, Mr. *Richards*, and Mr. *Sewall*, Eſquires.

Where (beſides the acquitting Mr. *John Aldin* by Proclamation) the moſt remarkable was, what related to *Mary Watkins*, who had been a Servant,

[130] The Complainants were "Mr. Thomas Putnam, and Mr. John Putnam, Jr., of Salem Village." She is ſtyled ſingle Woman, "of Redding," and her Name is ſpelt Duſting, Daſtin, and Daſting, in the Records. It would be intereſting to know if ſhe was a Relative of the noted Heroine, Hannah Duſtin, of Haverhill, who ſlew her Indian Captors, and eſcaped out of Captivity in 1697. Mr. Chaſe, the able Hiſtorian of Haverhill, does not ſeem to have conſulted the Records at Salem, as we find nothing of this Caſe in his Hiſtory.

and lived about Seven Miles from *Boſton*, having formerly Accuſed her Miſtreſs of Witchcraft, and was ſuppoſed to be diſtracted, ſhe was threatned if ſhe perſiſted in ſuch Accuſations to be puniſhed, this with the neceſſary care to recover her Health, had that good effect, that ſhe not only had her Health reſtored, but alſo wholly acquitted her Miſtreſs of any ſuch Crimes, and continued in Health till the return of the Year, and then again falling into Melancholy humours ſhe was found ſtrangling herſelf; her Life being hereby prolonged, ſhe immediately accuſed herſelf of being a Witch; was carried before a Magiſtrate and committed. At this Court a Bill of Indictment was brought to the Grand Jury againſt her, and her confeſſion upon her Examination given in as Evidence, but theſe not wholly ſatisfied herewith, ſent for her, who gave ſuch account of herſelf, that they (after they had returned into the Court to aſk ſome Queſtions) Twelve of them agreed to find Ignoramus, but the Court was pleaſed to ſend them out again, who again at coming in returned it as before.

She was continued for ſome time in Priſon, *&c.* and at length was ſold to *Virginia.* About this time the Priſoners in all the Priſons were releaſed.

To omit here the mentioning of ſeveral Wenches in *Boſton*, *&c.* who pretended to be Afflicted, and accuſed ſeveral, the Miniſters often viſiting them, and praying with them, concerning whoſe Afflic-

tion Narratives are in being. In Manuſcript not only theſe, but the generality of thoſe Accuſers may have ſince convinc'd the Miniſters by their vicious courſes that they might err in extending too much Charity to them.

The concluſion of the whole in the *Maſſachuſetts* Colony was Sir *William Phips*, Governour, being call'd home, before he went he pardon'd ſuch as had been condemned, for which they gave about 30 Shillings each to the Kings Attorney.[131]

In *Auguſt* 1697. The Superior Court ſat at *Hartford*, in the Colony of *Connecticut*, where one Miſtreſs *Benom* was tried for Witchcraft, ſhe [143] had been accuſed by ſome Children that pretented to the Spectral ſight; they ſearched her ſeveral times for Tets; they tried the Experiment of caſting her into the Water, and after this ſhe was Excommunicated by the Miniſter of *Wallinsford*. Upon her Tryal nothing material appeared againſt her, ſave Spectre Evidence, ſhe was acquitted, as alſo her Daughter, a Girl of Twelve or Thirteen Years old, who had been likewiſe Accuſed; but upon renewed Complaints againſt them, they both flew into *New-York* Government.[132]

[131] If this was ſuppoſed to be dealing juſtly by the Accuſed, the Government Officers of that Day muſt have had a very *angular* Idea of Juſtice, as underſtood by upright Men of the preſent Day. Such a Courſe reminds one of "Lidford Law," and of thoſe ſentenced "to be hanged and to pay 40 ſhillings."

[132] "One that many Years ſince was Executed at Hartford, in Connecticut Colony, on the Account of Witchcraft, confeſſed, that ſhe had employed Evil Spirits to be revenged on ſeveral; but that when

Before this the Government Iſſued forth the following Proclamation.

By the Honourable the Lieutenant Governour, Council and Aſſembly of his Majeſties[133] *Province of the* Maſſachuſetts Bay, *in General Court Aſſembled.*

Whereas the Anger of God is not yet turned away, but his Hand is ſtill ſtretched out againſt his People in manifold Judgments, particularly in drawing out to ſuch a length the troubles of *Europe*,[134] by a perplexing War; and more eſpecially, reſpecting ourſelves in this Province, in that God is pleaſed ſtill to go on in diminiſhing our Subſtance, cutting ſhort our Harveſt, blaſting our moſt promiſſing undertakings more ways than one, unſettling of us, and by his more Immediate hand, ſnatching away many out

ſhe would have had them do the Like to Mr. Stone (the Eminent Teacher of the Church there) they told her, they had not leave to do it: Nor is this to be Evaded by ſaying ſome Perſons (as of late in New England) have falſely accuſed themſelves, for this Perſon was upon Rational Grounds, thought to be a true Penitent, before her Death. We cannot argue, that becauſe ſome have failed in their curſed Attempts, that therefore never any Succeeded. But the known Succeſs of many was that which emboldened others to Endeavour the Like.".—I. Mather, in *Angelographia, To the Reader.* See, alſo, *Remarkable Providences* (by the ſame), Chap. V.

[133] William III, Mary being dead. She died on the 28th Dec., 1694. Was Dau. of James II, by A. Hyde.

[134] The "perplexing war" of this Period is ſketched with a Maſter's Hand by Macaulay in his *Hiſtory of England.*

of our Embraces, by ſudden and violent Deaths, even at this time when the Sword is devouring ſo many both at home and abroad, and that after many days of publick and Solemn addreſſing of him. And altho conſidering the many Sins prevailing in the midſt of us, we cannot but wonder at the Patience and Mercy moderating theſe Rebukes; yet we cannot but alſo fear that there is ſomething ſtill wanting to accompany our Supplications. And doubtleſs there are ſome particular Sins, which God is Angry with our *Iſrael* for, that have not been duly ſeen and reſented by us, about which God expects to be ſought if ever he turn again our Captivity.

Wherefore it is Commanded and Appointed, that *Thurſday* the Fourteenth of *January* next, be obſerved as a Day of Prayer, with Faſting throughout this Province, ſtrictly forbidding all Servile labour thereon; that ſo all Gods People may offer up fervent Supplications unto him, for the Preſervation, and Proſperity of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Government, and Succeſs to attend his Affairs both at home and abroad; that all iniquity may be put away which hath ſtirred God's Holy jealouſie againſt this Land; that he would ſhew us what we know not, and help us wherein we have done amiſs to do ſo no more; and eſpecially that whatever miſtakes on either hand have been fallen into, either by the body of this People, or any orders of men, referring to the late Tragedy, raiſed among us by Satan and

his Inſtruments, thro the awful Judgment of God, he [144] would humble us therefor and pardon all the Errors of his Servants and People, that deſire to love his Name and be attoned to his Land; that he would remove the Rod of the wicked from off the Lot of the Righteous, that he would bring the *American* Heathen, and cauſe them to hear and obey his Voice.

Given at Boſton, Decemb 17, 1696, *in the 8th Year of his Majeſties Reign.*

Iſaac Addington, *Secretary.*

Upon the Day of the Faſt in the full Aſſembly at the South Meeting-Houſe in *Boſton* one of the Honourable Judges,[135] who had ſat in Judicature in *Salem*, delivered in a Paper, and while it was in reading ſtood up, But the Copy being not to be obtained at preſent, It can only be reported by Memory to this effect, *viz. It was to deſire the Prayers of God's People for him and his, and that God having viſited his Family*, &c. *he was apprehenſive that he might have fallen into ſome Errors in the Matters at* Salem, *and pray that the Guilt of ſuch Miſcarriages may not be imputed either to the Country in general, or to him or his family in particular.*

[135] The Honorable Samuel Sewall. He worſhipped at the *Old* South Church. His Name will be found inſcribed upon the Plan of the Houſe in Mr. Wiſner's *Hiſtory*, Page 102, denoting the Pew which he occupied. Its internal Arrangement is much the ſame now.

Some that had been of ſeveral Jewries, have given forth a Paper, Sign'd with their own hands in theſe words.

WE whoſe names are under written, being in the Year 1692, *called to ſerve as Jurors in Court at* Salem *on Tryal of many; who where by ſome ſuſpected Guilty of doing Acts of Witchcraft upon the Bodies of ſundry Perſons:*

We confeſs that we ourſelves were not capable to underſtand, nor able to withſtand the myſterious deluſions of the Powers of Darkneſs, and Prince of the Air; but were for want of Knowledge in ourſelves, and better Information from others, prevailed with to take up with ſuch Evidence againſt the Accuſed, as on further conſideration, and better Information, we juſtly fear was inſufficient for the touching the Lives of any, Deut. xvii. 6. *whereby we fear we have been inſtrumental with others, tho Ignorently and unwittingly, to bring upon ourſelves, and this People of the Lord, the Guilt of Innocent Blood; which Sin the Lord ſaith in Scripture, he would not pardon,* 2 Kings xxiv. 4. *that is we ſuppoſe in regard of his temporal Judgments. We do therefore hereby ſignifie to all in general (and to the ſurviving Sufferers in eſpecial) our deep ſenſe of, and ſorrow for our Errors, in acting on ſuch Evidence to the condemning of any perſon.*

And do hereby declare that we juſtly fear that we were ſadly deluded and miſtaken, for which we are much diſquieted and diſtreſſed in our minds; and do

therefore humbly beg forgiveneſs, firſt of God for Chriſt's ſake for this our Error; And pray that God would not impute the guilt of it to ourſelves, nor [145] *others; and we alſo pray that we may be conſidered candidly, and aright by the living Sufferers as being then under the power of a ſtrong and general Deluſion, utterly unacquainted with, and not experienced in matters of that Nature.*

We do heartily aſk forgiveneſs of you all, whom we have juſtly offended, and do declare according to our preſent minds, we would none of us do ſuch things again on ſuch grounds for the whole World; praying you to accept of this in way of Satisfaction for our Offence; and that you would bleſs the Inheritance of the Lord, that he may be entreated for the Land.

Foreman, Thomas Fiſk,
William Fiſk,
John Bacheler,
Thomas Fiſk, Junior
John Dane,
Joſeph Evelith,
Thomas Perly, Senior
John Pebody,
Thomas Perkins,
Samuel Sayer,
Andrew Elliott,
Henry Herrick, Senior,[136]

[136] Both Mather and Calef have avoided giving Liſts of the Trial Jurors, doubtleſs to avoid increaſing the number of their Pages. The Records (that remain) are very imperfect in this, as well as in many other Reſpects, already noticed. On this Period much remains to be done.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since making the foregoing Collections of Letters, to the Reverend Mr. Cotton Mather, *and others, &c. (which as yet remain unanſwered) a Book is come to hand Intituled,*

THE *Life of Sir* William Phips, *printed in* London, 1697. Which Book, tho it bears not the Authors name, yet the Stile, manner and matter is ſuch, that were there no other demonſtration or token to know him by, it were no Witchcraft to determine that the ſaid Mr. *C. M.* is the Author of it. But that he that has *encountred Enchantments*, and gone through the *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, and *diſcovered the Devil*, that he ſhould ſtep aſide into a Remote Country to put on Inviſibility! Tho the reaſon of this be not ſo manifeſt, yet it may be thought to be to gratifie ſome peculiar fancies; and why may not this be one, that he might with the better grace extol the Actions of Mr. *Mather*, as Agent in *England*, or as Preſident of *Harvard* College, not forgetting his own.[137]

As to Sir *William*, it will be generally *acknow-*

[137] This Inſinuation is quite well ſuſtained, as will appear by an Extract from Mr. Mather's Diary, printed in Quincy's *Hiſt. H. C.* i, 60. The Life of Phips is ſubſtantially included in the Magnalia. As originally publiſhed, it is of conſiderable rarity.

ledged that notwithſtanding the meanneſs of his Parentage and Education, he attain'd to be Maſter of a Ship, and that he had the good hap to find a *Spaniſh* Wreck, not only ſufficient to repair his Fortunes, but to raiſe him to a conſiderable Figure; which King *James* did ſo far accommodate as to make *him a Knight.*

[146] And that after this, in the Reign of his Preſent Majeſty, *he took up with thoſe of the Agents, that were for accepting the New Charter, whereby himſelf became Governour.*[138]

It is not doubted, but that he aimed at the good of the People, and great Pitty it is that his Government was ſo ſullied (for want of better Information and Advice, from thoſe whoſe duty it was to have given it) by that Hobgoblin Monſter, Witchcraft, whereby this Countrey was Night-Mar'd, and harraſt, at ſuch a rate, as is not eaſily imagined.[139]

After which ſome complaints going to *England* about Male-Adminiſtration, in the leaſt matters comparatively; yet were ſuch, that he was call'd home to give account thereof, where he ſoon after expired, ſo finiſhing his Life and Government together.[140]

[138] See Vol. I, Page 25-6.

[139] This Judgment has been ſuſtained by Poſterity. Phips's Hands were tied. He could not have done differently, had he had the Knowledge and Diſpoſition, without giving offence to Preſident Mather, who had ſecured his Advancement.

[140] To this rather mild and inoffenſive remark of the Author, Mr. Mather replies: "The laſt Effort of his [Calef's] Malice is a Poſtſcript againſt the Life of Sir William Phips, againſt whoſe Memory, why any whoſe *Throats are an open Sepulchre*, ſhould be ſo

Death having thus drawn the Curtain, forbidding any further Scene, it might have been prudence, to let his duſt remain without diſturbance.

But the ſaid Book endeavouring to raiſe a Statue to him (*i. e.*) to aſcribe to him ſuch Achievements as either were never peformed by him, or elſe unduly aggravated, this has opened the Mouth, both of Friends and Enemies to recount the miſtakes in the ſaid Book; as alſo thoſe miſcarriages, wherewith Sir *William* was chargeable; ſuch as, had it not been for this Book, had been buried with him.[141]

In P. 3, ſearch is made over the World, to whom to compare him in his Advancement; and moſt unhappily *Pizarro* is pitched upon as a match for him, who was a Baſtard, dropt in a Church-Porch, put to Suck of a Sow, and being grown, ran away, and Shipt himſelf for *America;* there ſo proſpered, as to Command an Army; and therewith did mighty things, particularly took *Attaballipa*, one of the Kings of *Peru* Priſoner, and having received for his Ranſom, in Gold and Silver to the value of Ten Millions, perfidiouſly

monſtrouſly envious, that like Jackalls, they can't let him reſt quietly in his Sepulchre, good Men can't imagine any Reaſon but the third Chapter of Geneſis."—*Some Few Remarks*, &c. 47.

141 "I have endured more than a little from ſome ſort of Men, for my writing the Life of Sir William Phips, and ſpeaking well of him, without either doing or ſpeaking ill againſt any one good Man under the whole Heavens, in the whole Compoſure. It ſeems that I muſt now write an Apology, for that Book: for which I have no Confeſſion to make, but, *That I don't wiſh one Line of it unwritten.*"—*Ibid*, 47-8.

put him to Death; and was the Death of no Man knows how many Thouſands of Innocents, and is certainly one of the worſt that could have been pitched upon for ſuch compariſon.[142]

Tho this together with the Rhetorical flouriſhes, and affected ſtrains therein, are inſtances of the Author's variety of Learning; for which he is recommended by theſe Three *Venerable* Perſon[143] in the entrance to the ſaid Book. Yet the *Integrity*, *Prudence*, and *Veracity* thereof, is not ſo manifeſtly to be ſeen. Paſſing over a multitude of Miſrepreſentations that are therein relating to the Acts of Sir *William*, as not deſigning to rake in the Grave of the Dead, Who is it can ſee the Veracity of thoſe words? P. 40. [He lay within *Piſtol-Shot* of the Enemies Cannon, and beat them from thence, and much batter'd the town, having his Ship ſhot thro in an hundred places, with *Four and twenty Pounders*,] When in the Judgment of thoſe preſent, they were not nearer to the Enemy, than about *half or three quarters of a Mile*; that there might be in all about *Seven Shot* that [147] ſtruck the Hull of the Veſſel, none of them known to be bigger than 18 Pounders, the Enemy having but

[142] It muſt be allowed that the Doctor was a little unfortunate in his Choice of a Hero by which to meaſure his own.

[143] The "three venerable Perſons" were "Nath. Mather, John Howe and Matthew Mead." The firſt was the Uncle to Dr. Cotton Mather, then a Miniſter in Dublin, where he died a few Months later. Howe and Mead are too well known to require a notice here.

one Gun that could carry ſo big as an 18 pound Ball.[144]

It were a fondneſs after ſuch aſſertions, to take any notice of this bedeck'd Statue, when there was ſo much the leſs need of erecting one (as is aſſerted P. 108) having already been done ſo well, that even this Author himſelf deſpairs of doing it better;[145] and that by one, a Man of ſuch diffuſed and Embalm'd a Reputation, *as that his Commendations* are aſſerted to be enough to *Immortalize* the Reputation of Sir *William*, or whomſoever elſe *he ſhould* pleaſe to beſtow them upon, *viz.* That Reverend perſon *who was* the Preſident of the only Univerſity then in the *Engliſh America*, P. 109. Which by the way is a much fairer Statue, in honour of the Preſident of the Univerſity, than that erected for Sir *William*.

For notwithſtanding all this noiſe of Erecting

[144] To this Dr. Mather anſwers: "When mine Adverſaries had, with a concocted Malice, done all they could, they thought at leaſt they had found one Paſſage wherein they might impeach my Veracity. I had ſaid, that before Quebeck, Sir William lay *within Piſtol Shot of the Enemies Cannon*, and that his Ship was ſhot through, in *an hundred Places*, and that it was ſhot through with *Four and Twenty Pounders*. (Tis a groſs Hardſhip for any to make my Meaning as if all the ſhot had been ſo.) And now they fall to Tragical Exclamattons; they think *Four and Twenty Pounders* to be too ſmall Dimenſions for the Clamors they muſt batter me withal. . . . . I wrote no more than the very Words which I find in a Journal of the Expedition to Qcebec. . . . . *Caleſ* himſelf has lately owned, that he verily believes I did ſo."—*Some Few Remarks*, &c. 51-2.

[145] After the Doctor had ſpoken of being "battered with Clamors," he triumphantly Exclaims—"But hold *Robin*, [Mr. Caleſ's Chriſtian Name being Robert] I am not ſo ſoon *ſhot through;* and the *Statue*, as I told thee, has *knock'd out thy Brains!*"—*Ibid*, Page 52. His Life of Phips he calls a *Statue*.

Statues, and the great danger in plucking them down, *&c.* yet in P. 89, 'tis ſaid that even Sir *William* ſhewed Choler enough, leaving it open for others, thereby to underſtand, that he was wholly given over to Paſſion and Choler.[146] And in P. 92, 'tis ſaid he did not affect any mighty ſhew of Devotion; theſe expreſſions with others may prevail with the unbiaſed Reader to think that theſe builders of Statues, had ſome further deſign in it, than to blazen the Achievements of Sir *William Phips*, *viz.* To ſet forth Mr. *J. Mathers* Negociation in *England*, his procuring the New-Charter for Sir *William* to be Governour, and himſelf Eſtabliſh'd Preſident of the College, are the things principally driven at in the Book.[147]

Another principal thing is to ſet forth the ſuppoſed Witchcrafts in *New-England*, and how well Mr. *Mather* the Younger therein acquitted himſelf.[148]

[146] The harſh and ungovernable Temper of the Governor was a Matter of Notoriety in his Time. See *Life of Phips in the Magnalia*, B. ii, Page 72, &c.

[147] "It is not worth our while to take Notice of every thing this *Calf* ſayes, 'tis often ſo impertinent; however, we will lay open one thing more. He ſays that Mr. Mather procured a Charter for Sir William to be Governor, and *himſelf eſtabliſhed Preſident of the Colledge.* Can there be greater Nonſenſe mixed with Malice! How could that be, when Mr. Mather had been Preſident of the Colledge *ten* Years before Sir William came to be Governor?" This is a very ſhallow Attempt to impeach, by Hypercriticiſm, the Truth of Mr. Calef's Statement. Everybody knew the fact that Dr. I. Mather was Preſident of the College. Mr. Calef's Meaning is plain enough, namely, that Mr. Mather's Solicitude was about *keeping* his Office of Preſident.

[148] "It is to be confeſſed and bewailed, that many Inhabitants of

As to the New Charter for the right underſtanding that Affair, it will be needful to ſay, that the People that afterwards ſettled in *New England*, being about to leave their Native ſoil, and to ſeek (as the Providence of God ſhould direct them) a ſettlement in remote Regions, wherein they might beſt ſecure their Civil and Religious Intereſts, before they enter'd upon this, conſidering it might be needful on many accounts for their future well being, they obtain'd a Charter to be in the nature of a prime agreement, ſetting forth the Soveraigns Prerogative, and the People's Priviledges; in the enjoyment whereof they long continued, after having purchaſ'd the Title to their Lands, of the Natives of the Country, and ſettled themſelves therein, without any charge to the Crown.

That Clauſe in their Charter for this Country, *viz.* (Provided that no other Chriſtian Prince be prepoſſeſt of it) being a tacit acknowledgment, that before ſettlement no one Chriſtian Prince had any right thereto more than another. During this time of *New-England's* Proſperity, the

New England, and young People eſpecially, had been led away with little *Sorceries*, wherein they *did ſecretly thoſe things that were not right againſt the Lord their God*; they would often cure Hurts with *Spells*, and practice deteſtable Conjurations with *Sieves*, and *Keyes*, and *Peaſe*, and *Nails*, and *Horſe-ſhoes*, and other Implements to learn the Things for which they had a forbidden and impious Curioſity. Wretched Books had ſtolen into the Land, wherein Fools were inſtructed how to become able Fortune-tellers."—*Life of Sir W. Phips.* See *Magnalia*, B. ii, 60. Some twenty Years later the Author's Ideas had undergone a ſlight Change. See *Remarkables*, 161, *et ſeq.*

Government here were very ſparing of Granting Freedoms, except to ſuch as [148] were ſo and ſo qualfied. Whereby the number of *Non*-Freemen[149] being much increaſ'd, they were very uneaſie, by their being ſhut out from having any ſhare in the Government, or having any Votes for their Repreſentatives, *&c.* it rendred many of them ready to join with ſuch as were undermining the Government, not duly conſidering that it had been far more ſafe to have endeavoured to prevail with the Legiſlators for an enlargement.

So that it will not be wonder'd at that in the latter end of the Reign of King *Charles* the II. and of King *James*, (when moſt of the Charters in *England* were vacated) that this was *quo warranto'd* and finally Judgment entered up againſt it, and the Country was put into ſuch a form of Government as was moſt agreeable to thoſe times, *viz.* A Legiſlative pow'r was lodg'd in the Governour (or Preſident) and ſome few appointed to be of his Counſel, without any regard therein, either to the Laws of *England*, or thoſe formerly of this Colony: Thus rendering the Circumſtances of this Country beyond compariſon worſe than thoſe of any Corporation in *England*. The People of thoſe Corporations being acknowledged ſtill to have a right to *Magna Charta*, when their particular Charters were made void. But here

[149] Complete Liſts of all the Freemen in Maſſachuſetts, and the Qualifications neceſſary to become ſuch, will be found in the *New Eng. Hiſt. and Gen. Regiſter*, Vols. III, IV and VII.

when *Magna Charta* has been pleaded, the People have been anſwered, that they muſt not expect that *Magna Charta* would follow them to the end of the World: not only their Eſtates, but their Lives being thereby rendered wholly precarious. And Judge *Palmer*[150] has ſet forth in Print, that the King has power to grant ſuch a Commiſſion over this People.

It is not hard to imagine that under ſuch a Commiſſion, not only the People were liable to be oppreſt by Taxes, but alſo by Confiſcations, and Siezing of Lands, unleſs Patents were purchaſed at Exceſſive prizes, with many other Exorbitant Innovations.

The firſt that accepted this Commiſſion was Mr. *Dudley*, a Gentleman born in this Country, who did but prepare the way for Sir *Edm. Andros*. In whoſe time things being grown to ſuch Extremities, not only here, but in *England*, as render'd the ſucceeding Revolution abſolutely neceſſary; the Revolution here being no other than an acting according to the Precedent given by *England*.

During the time of Sir *Edmonds'* Government,

[150] Palmer's Book is thus entitled: "An Impartial Account of the State of New England: or, the Late Government there, Vindicated. In Anſwer to the Declaration which the Faction ſet forth, when they Overturned that Government. With a Relation of the Horrible Uſage they treated the Governour with, and his Council; and all that had His Majeſty's Commiſſion. *In a* Letter *to the* Clergy *there*. By *John Palmer*. London: Printed for *Edward Poole*, at the *Ship* over againſt the *Royal Exchange*, in *Cornhill*, 1690." 4to, 40 Pages. This Work is about to be republiſhed by the PRINCE SOCIETY.

Mr. *Increaſe Mather*, Teacher of the North Church in *Boſton*, having undergone ſome trouble by Fobb-Actions[151] laid upon him, *&c.* (tho with ſome difficulty) he made his Eſcape, and got paſſage for *England*, being therein aſſiſted by ſome particular Friends; where being arrived, he applied himſelf to King *James* for redreſs of thoſe Evils the Country then groaned under; and meeting with a ſeeming kind reception, and ſome promiſes, it was as much as might at that time be reaſonably expected.[152]

[149] Upon the Day of the Revolution here, tho the greateſt part of the People were for reaſſuming their Ancient Government, purſuant to his Royal Highneſs' Proclamation; yet matters were ſo clog'd, that the People were diſſmiſt without it, who did not in the leaſt miſtruſt but that thoſe who were put out of the Government by Mr. *Dudley*, would reaſſume: Mr. *Broadſtreet*, who had been then Governour, being heard to ſay that Evening, when returned home, *That had not he thought they would have reaſſum'd, he would*

[151] Actions brought without Foundation.

[152] "The Superior Gentlemen in the Oppreſſed Country, thought, that a Well-qualified Perſon going over with the Addreſſes of the Churches to the King, might, by the Help of ſuch Proteſtant Diſſenters as the King began upon Political Views to caſt a fair Aſpect upon, obtain ſome Relief to the growing Diſtreſſes of the Country; and Mr. Mather was the Perſon that was pitch'd upon. . . . . To his Wonderment, they that at another Time would have almoſt aſſoon parted with their Eyes as have parted with him now were willing to it."—*Remarkables of Dr. I. Mather*, 103.

not have ſtirr'd out of his Houſe that Day.[153] But after this, ſome that were driving at other matters, had opportunities by Threats and other ways not only to prevail with that good Old Gentleman, but with the reſt of the Government wholly to decline it; which ſome few obſerving, they took the opportunity to call themſelves a Committee of Safety, and ſo undertook to Govern ſuch as would be govern'd by them.[154]

It has been an Obſervation of long continuance *that matters of State ſeldom proſper, when managed by the Clergy.* Among the oppoſers of the reaſſuming few were ſo ſtrenuous as ſome of the Miniſters, and among the Miniſters none more vehement than Mr. *Cotton Mather*, Paſtor of the *North* Church in *Boſton*, who has charged them as they would anſwer it another day to reaſſume. Among his Arguments againſt it, one was that it would be to put a ſlight upon his Father, who, he ſaid, was in *England*, labouring for a compleat Reſtoration of Charter Privileges, not doubting, but they would be ſpeedily obtain'd. Any Man that knows *New England* cannot but be ſenſible, that ſuch Diſcourſes from ſuch Men, have always been very prevalent. And hence it was that even

[153] Mr. Bradſtreet was then about 86 Years of Age. A pretty full Account of the Tranſactions of this Period may be read in Hutchinſon, *Hiſt. Maſſ.*, i, *ſub. An.* 1689: "The Repreſentatives of 54 Towns met at Boſton, on the 22d of May. They ſoon diſcovered a Deſire to reaſſume the Charter. The major Part of the Council were againſt it." *Ibid.*, i, 386, firſt Edition.

[154] I do not find this animadverted upon in the *Some Few Remarks.*

thoſe that would think themſelves wronged, if they were not numbred among the beſt Friends to *New-England*, and to its Charter, would not ſo much as ſtoop to take it up, when there was really nothing to hinder them from the Enjoyment thereof.[155]

After the Committee of Safety had continued about ſeven Weeks, or rather after Anarchy had been ſo long Triumphant, an Aſſembly having been call'd came to this reſolve and laid it before thoſe Gentlemen that had been of the Government, that if they would not act upon the Foundation of the Charter, that perſuant to it, the Aſſembly would appoint ſome others in that Station. The Anſwer to which was, that they would accept, *&c.* And when a Declaration ſignifying ſuch a reaſſuming, was prepared with the good liking of the Deputies, in order to be publiſhed, ſome that were oppoſers, ſo terrified thoſe Gentlemen, that before publiſhing it was underwritten [that they would not have it underſtood that they did reaſſume Charter-Government] to the no ſmall amazement of the People, and diſappointment of the Deputies, who if theſe had not promiſed ſo to act, had taken other care, and put in thoſe that would.[156]

[155] See Neal's *Hiſt. N. England*, where will be found the "Declaration" in full, in which it is ſaid: "Having fully and deliberately examined the Minds and Inſtructions of the ſeveral Towns, do find it to be the general Conſent and Concurrence of our ſeveral Towns to reaſſume the Government according to Charter-Rights," &c. Vol. II, 55.

[156] The *underwritten* Recantation does not appertain to the printed Declaration. Neal ſays: "'Tis certain the Maſſachuſet-

[150] The next principal thing done was, they choſe two of their Members, *viz.* one of the upper Houſe, the other of the lower, both of them Gentlemen of known Integrity, as well as ability to go to *England*, in order to obtain their Reſettlement;[157] and in regard Mr. *I. Mather* was already there, they joined him, as alſo a certain Gentleman in *London*[158] with theſe other two: Thoſe from hence being arrived in *London*, they all united for the common Intereſt of the Countrey, though without the deſired effect. They were in doubt, whether it were beſt to Improve their Utmoſt for a reverſal of the Judgment in a Courſe of Law, or to obtain it in a Parliamentary way, or to Petition his Majeſty for a New Grant of former Priviledges; And conſidering that the two firſt might prove Dilatory and Expenſive, as well as for other reaſons, they reſolved upon the latter, and Petition'd his Majeſty for the Countries Reſettlement, with former Privileges, and what further additionals his Majeſty in his Princely Wiſdom ſhould think fit. Accordingly it pleaſed his Majeſty to declare in Counſel his Determination, *viz.* That there ſhould be a Charter granted to *New-England*. But the Minutes then taken thereof, and a Draught of the *New-Charter* being ſeen, it was the Opinion of the two Gentlemen

Provinces had hard Meaſure in the Loſs of their Charter, and harder yet, in not having it reſtored at the Revolution," &c. Vol. II, 59.

[157] Eliſha Cooke and Thomas Oakes, both of them Aſſiſtants. See Hutchinſon, *Hiſt. Maſs.*, i, 393.

[158] Sir Henry Aſhurſt.

ſent from hence, that it were beſt to tarry his Majeſties return from *Flanders;* in hopes then to obtain eaſe in ſuch things as might be any ways deemed to be grievous. And this was the reſult of the Advice of ſuch as were beſt able to give it, that they could meet with, and accordingly they wholly deſiſted taking it out of the Offices.[159]

But Mr. *Mather* and that other Gentleman had, as it is ſaid, other advice given them, which they ſtrenuouſly purſued, and his Majeſty having left it as is aſſerted in this of the Life of Sir *William*, P. 57, to them to nominate a Governour, they pitcht upon Sir *William Phips*, who was then in *England*, [As the moſt likely and able to ſerve the King's Intereſts among the People there; under the changes in ſome things unacceptable now brought upon them, P. 62.] and

[159] Dr. I Mather's Narrative of this Affair runs thus: "When the King was pleaſed to give a poſitive Command that the Charter of New England ſhould be diſpatched, it was not for the Agents to ſay, It ſhall not be ſo. True it is, that all the Agents, when they ſaw what Minutes would be inſerted in the Charter, were deſirous of a Delay, until the Kings happy Return to England. And I may without Vanity ſay, no Man laboured to have it ſo, more than myſelf. I prayed Arch-Biſhop Tillotſon to intercede with the Queen for this Favour to us, who at my Requeſt did ſo. Moreover, I drew up ſeveral Reaſons againſt that which in the Minutes of the New Charter is moſt grievous to us; which were by Sir Henry Aſhurſt, and my ſelf, delivered to His Majeſties Attourney General, on July 24. 1691, and which I did alſo ſend to my Lord Sidney, one of His Majeſties principal Secretaries of State, then with the King in Flanders."—*Some Few Remarks*, 22-3. Lord Henry *Sydney* was afterwards Earl of Romney.

without tarrying for the concurrence of thoſe other Agents, the Charter was taken out, *&c.*[160]

But Mr. *Mather* perhaps fearing he ſhould have but ſmall thanks here, for his having ſo far an hand in bringing upon them thoſe unacceptable Changes, wrote, and cauſed to be Printed, an Account of his Negotiation, but ſurely by ſome Error in the Conception, it proved only an *Embrio*, and was ſtifled as ſoon as born. One indeed, deſigned to be as it were a *Poſthumous* was left with Mr. *Bailey*, formerly of *Boſton*, and a Member of the *North-Church*, with a charge not to ſuffer it to be ſeen till he were gone to *New-England;* yet it ſeems ſome other perſon got a ſight of it, which was the occaſion of Mr. *Mather*'s ſending him that Minatory Epiſtle, by ſome call'd a Bull. But beſides this, for fear of the worſt, Mr. *Mather* got ſeveral *Non-con* Miniſters to give him a Teſtimonial, or Letters of Commendations for his great Service herein.[161]

[151] In the mean time Mr. *Cotton Mather*, being in ſome doubt of the ſame thing, handed

[160] Thinking there would be no further Proceedings about the Charter before the Return of the King, Mr. Mather ſays he went into the Country for the Recovery of his impaired Health, where, before he had been three Weeks, he was ſurpriſed by being ſent for to London, "with Information that the King had ſignified His Royal Pleaſure to the Earl of Nottingham, that there ſhould be a Procedure with a Charter for the Maſſachuſetts Colony, according to the Minutes that the Lords of the Committee for Plantations had agreed to, notwithſtanding the Objections of the Agents."—*Some Few Remarks*, 23.

[161] This Document is printed in the Work juſt cited, Pages 14 to 18; and alſo by the Son in his *Remarkables* of his Father, Pages 157-60. The rebutting of the "Bull" has been noticed in an earlier Page.

about a Paper of Fables; wherein his Father under the Name of *Mercurius*, and himſelf under the Name of *Orpheus*, are extoll'd, and the great Actions of *Mercurius* magnified; the preſent Charter exalted, by trampling on the former, as being very defective, and all thoſe call'd unreaſonable that did not readily agree with the New one: And indeed the whole Country are compared to no better than Beaſts, except *Mercurius* and *Orpheus*, the Governour himſelf muſt not Eſcape being termed an Elephant, tho as good as he was great, and the Inferiours told by *Orpheus* that for the quiet Enjoyment of their Lands, *&c.* they were beholding to *Mercurius*. Tho this Paper was judged not convenient to be Printed, yet ſome Copies were taken, the Author having ſhown variety of *Heathen* Learning in it.[162]

This is in ſhort that eminent Service for which the ſaid Mr. *I. M.* is in the preſent Book ſo highly extol'd. In ſo many Pages, that to repeat them were to tranſcribe a conſiderable part of the ſaid Book.

And no doubt he deſerves as much thanks as Dr. *Sharp*[163] did, when he was ſent by the Preſ-

[162] Whether this Paper, containing the *variety of Heathen Learning*, was ever printed, the Editor is unable to ſay.

[163] The Defenders of Dr. Mather ſay, that, by what they have heard about that Story of Dr. Sharp, attempting "to get himſelf made Biſhop, did what he could to undermine the Preſbyterian Government:" and continue,—"Certainly, Satan *himſelf* could not but bluſh to ſay, that ever Mr. Mather went to deſtroy the Government of New England, either as to their Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution." —*Some Few Remarks*, 29, 30. Mr. Calef is very far from bringing any

bytery of *Scotland*, to procure the ſettlement of their Kirk by King *Charles* II. at his Reſtauration.

Not but that the preſent Charter of *New-England* is indeed truly valuable, as containing in it peculiar Priviledges, which abundantly Engages this People to pay the tribute of thankfulneſs to his Majeſty,[164] and all due ſubjection to whom it ſhall pleaſe him to ſubſtitute as Governour over us; and to pray that the King of Kings would pour out of his richeſt bleſſings upon him, giving him a long and proſperous Reign over the Nations, under the benign Influences whereof, Oppreſſion and Tyranny may flee away.

And if his Majeſty hath put this People into the preſent form of Government, to the end they might be in the better condition of Defence in a time of War; or that they might the better underſtand the Priviledge of chooſing their own Governour by the want of it, and ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed (the War being over) to reſtore to theſe, as has been already granted to the reſt of his Majesties Subjects, the full employment of their Ancient Priviledges, it would be ſuch an obligation upon them to thankfulneſs and Duty

ſuch Charge. Some later Authors are far more ſevere on Dr. Mather than he. See Baylies, *N. Plymouth*, iv, 134.

[164] After extracting this Acknowledgement of our Author, his Reviewers ſay: "With what Face then can he inſinuate that no Thanks are due to the Inſtruments of obtaining ſuch a valuable Charter, and ſo many peculiar Priviledges? Surely he was beſide himſelf, when he wrote ſuch Things as theſe.—*Ibid.*, Page 30.

as could never be forgotten, nor ſufficiently expreſt, and would rather abate than increaſe charge to the Crown.

As to the ſuppoſed Witchcrafts in *New-England*, having already ſaid ſo much thereof, there is the leſs remains to be added.

In the times of Sir *Ed. Andros* his Government, Goody *Glover*, a deſpiſed, crazy, ill-conditioned old Woman, an *Iriſh Roman* Catholick, was tried for Afflicting *Goodwins* Children; by the Account of which Tryal, taken in Short-hand, for the uſe of the Jury, it may appear that the ge[152]neral-ity of her Anſwers, were Nonſenſe, and her behaviour like that of one diſtracted. Yet the Drs. finding her as ſhe had been for many Years, brought her in *Compos Mentis;* and ſetting aſide her crazy Anſwers to ſome inſnaring queſtions, the proof againſt her was wholly deficient: The Jury brought her Guilty.[165]

[165] The Authors of the *Some Few Remarks*, print a Letter from Mr. John Goodwin, as a triumphant Vindication of what Dr. Cotton Mather publiſhed reſpecting the bewitchment of Goodwin's Children. The Letter is too long and too unimportant to occupy Space here. It may be ſeen on Pages 62 and 63 of that Work. It is, of courſe, an attempt to ſuſtain Dr. Mather's Account, the ſubſtance of which Account is in the *Magnalia*. They then go on: "Now behold how active and forward Mr. Mather was, in tranſacting the Affairs relating to this Woman; and be aſtoniſhed, that ever any *One* ſhould go to inſinuate things to the World, as are known by moſt that ever heard of thoſe afflicted Children, to be ſo far different from *Truth*, as to do what in you lies to leſſen the Eſteem of thoſe Servants of Chriſt, (which you make your chiefeſt *Butts*) among the Lord's People. . . . . We pray God *Pardon* your Sin, and give you the Grace to Repent"—*Ibid*, 65. See alſo *Magnalia*, B. ii, 61; where it appears that Mr. Joſeph Dudley was Chief Judge when the poor old crazy Woman was tried and Executed.

Mr. *Cotton Mather* was the moſt active and forward of any Miniſter in the Country in thoſe matters, taking home one of the Children, and managing ſuch intreagues with that Child, and after printing ſuch an Account of the whole, in his Memorable Providences, as conduced much to the kindling thoſe Flames, that in Sir *Williams* time threatned the devouring this Country.[166]

King *Saul* in his deſtroying the Witches out of *Iſrael*, is thought by many to have exceeded, and in his Zeal to have ſlain the *Gibeonites* wrongfully under that notion: Yet went after this to a Witch to know his Fortune. For his wrongful deſtroying the *Gibeonites* (beſides the Judgments of God upon the Land) his Sons were hanged; and for his going to the Witch, himſelf was cut off. Our ſir *William Phips* did not do this, but as appears by this Book had firſt his Fortune told him, (by ſuch as the Author counts no better) and

[166] Dr. Mather anſwers: "After the Storm was raiſed at Salem, I did myſelf offer to provide Meat, Drink, and Lodging, for no leſs than *Six* of the Afflicted, that ſo an Experiment might be made, whether *Prayer* with *Faſting*, upon the Removal of thoſe Miſerables, one from another, might not put a Period unto the Trouble then ariſing, without giving the Civil Authority the Trouble of Proſecuting the Methods of the Law on that Occaſion. You'll ſay, How came it then to paſs that many People took up another Notion of me? Truly, *Satan knows*. Perhaps 'twas becauſe I thought it my Duty alwayes to ſpeak of the Honourable Judges with as much Honour as I could; (a Crime which I am generally taxed for, and *for which I hav ebeen finely requited!*) This made People, who judge of Things *at a Diſtance*, to dream that I *approved* of all that was done."—*Ibid*, 39-40. Certainly, if Words mean any thing, what he publiſhed fully juſtifies that Concluſion, notwithſtanding his rare *Ambidexterity*. See Vol. I, *Ubique loci*.

though he put it off (to his Paſtor, who he new approved not thereof) as if it were brought to him in writing, without his ſeeking, *&c.* Yet by his bringing it ſo far, and ſafe keeping it ſo many Years, it appears he made ſome Account of it; for which he gave the Writer, after he had found the Wreck, as a reward, more than Two hundred pounds. His telling his Wife (P. 6.) that he ſhould be a Commander, ſhould have a Brick-Houſe in *Greenlane*,[167] *&c.* might be in confidence of ſome ſuch Prediction, and that he could foretel to him (P. 90.) that he ſhould be Governour of *New-England*, was probably ſuch an one, (the Scriptures not having revealed it.) Such Predictions would have been counted at *Salem*, pregnant proofs of Witchcraft, and much better than what were againſt ſeveral that ſuffered there. But Sir *William*, when the Witchcrafts at *Salem* began (in his Eſteem) to look formidable, that he might Act ſafely in this Affair, he aſked the Advice of the Miniſters in and near *Boſton;* the whole of their Advice and Anſwer is Printed in *Caſes of Conſcience*, the laſt Pages. But leſt the World ſhould be Ignorant who it was that drew the ſaid Advice, in this Book of the Life of Sir *William Phips*, P. 77. are theſe words, *the Miniſters made unto his Excellency and the Counſel a return, drawn up at their deſire,*

[167] Salem Street was in thoſe Times, called *Green-Lane;* at the Corner made by that *Lane* and Charter Streeet, the Governor actually reſided. See *Hiſtory and Antiquities of Reaſon*, 816.

by Mr. Mather *the Younger, as I have been informed.* Mr. *C. M.* therein intending to beguile the World, and make them think that another, and not himſelf had taken that notice of his (ſuppoſed) good Service done therein, which otherwiſe would have been aſcribed to thoſe Miniſters in General, though indeed the Advice then given, looks moſt like a thing of his Compoſing, as carrying both Fire [153] to increaſe, and Water to quench the Conflagration.[168] Particularly after the Devils Teſtimony, by the ſuppoſed Afflicted had ſo prevailed, as to take away the Life of one, and the Liberty of an Hundred, and the whole Country ſet into a moſt dreadful conſternation, then this Advice is given, uſhered in with thanks for what was already done, and in concluſion, putting the Government upon a ſpeedy and vigorous proſecution according to the Laws of God, and the wholeſome Statutes of the *Engliſh* Nation, ſo adding Oil, rather than Water to the Flame; for who ſo little acquainted with proceedings of *England*, as not to know that they have taken ſome methods, with thoſe here uſed to diſcover who were Witches. The reſt of the

[168] Dr. Mather ſays in Reply: "Moreover, when the Miniſters preſented unto the Governour and Council, their Advice againſt making the *Spectral Exhibitions* to be ſo much as a *Preſumption of Witchcraft*, it was *my* poor Hand which drew up that Advice, and my Heart was always in it."—*Some Few Remarks*, 38-9. But the Doctor does not explain how, in ſpeaking of this *Addreſs* in the Life of Phips, he came to make uſe of the Words—*as I have been informed*—while in the *Some Few Remarks* he owns that it was drawn by his *poor Hand*. See *Life of Phips in Magnalia*, Book II, 63.

Advice, conſiſting of cautions and directions, are inſerted in this of the Life of Sir *William.* So that if Sir *William*, looking upon the thanks for what was paſt, and Exhortation to proceed, went on to take away the Lives of Nineteen more, this is according to the Advice ſaid to be given him by the Miniſters, and if the Devil after thoſe Executions be affronted, by diſbelieving his teſtimony, and by clearing and Pardoning all the reſt of the Accuſed; yet this alſo is according to that Advice, but to caſt the Scale; the ſame that drew this Advice, ſaith, in *Wonders of the Inviſible World, Enchantments Encountered;* [that to have a hand in any thing that may ſtifle or obſtruct a regular detection of that Witchcraft, is what we may well with a Holy fear avoid: Their Majeſties good Subjects muſt not every day be torn to pieces by horrid Witchcraft, and thoſe bloody Felons be wholly left unproſecuted; The Witchcraft is a buſineſs that will not be ſhamm'd.][169] The Paſtor of that Church, of which Sir *William* was a Member, being of this Principle, and thus declaring it, after the former advice; no wonder tho it caſt the Scale againſt thoſe Cautions. It is rather a Wonder that no more Blood was ſhed, for if that Advice of his Paſtors could ſtill have prevail'd with the Governour, Witchcraft had not been ſo ſhammed off as it was. Yet now in this Book of the Life of Sir *William*, the pardoning the Priſoners when

[169] See Volume I, Page 34.

Condemn'd, and clearing the Goals, is call'd (P. 82) a Vanquiſhing the Devil, adding this Conqueſt to the reſt of the Noble Atchievements of Sir *William*, tho Performed not only without, but directly againſt his Paſtors Advice. But this is not all, tho this Book pretends to raiſe a Statue in Honour of Sir *William*, yet it appears it was the leaſt part of the deſign of the Author to Honour him, but it was rather to Honour himſelf, and the Miniſters; It being ſo unjuſt to Sir *William*, as to give a full Account of the cautions given him, but deſignedly hiding from the Reader the Incouragements and Exhortations to proceed, that were laid before him (under the name of the Miniſters Advice) in effect, telling the World that thoſe Executions at *Salem*, were without, and againſt the Advice of the Miniſters, expreſt in thoſe Cautions, purpoſely hiding their giving thanks for what was already done, and exhorting to proceed; thereby rendering Sir *William* of ſo ſanguin a Complexion, that the Miniſters had ſuch cauſe to fear his going on with the Tragedy, tho againſt their Advice; that they deſired the Preſident to write his *Caſes of Conſcience*, *&c.* To plead miſinformation will not ſalve here, however it may ſeem to palliate other things, but is a manifeſt, deſigned traverſty, or miſrepreſentation of the Miniſters Advice to Sir *William*, a hiding the truth, and a wronging the dead, whom the Author ſo much pretends to honour; for which the Acknowledgments ought to be as Univerſal as the offence. But tho the Miniſters

Advice, or rather Mr. *C. Mather's* was perfectly Ambidexter, giving as great or greater Encouragement to proceed in thoſe dark methods, than cautions againſt [154] them; yet many Eminent perſons being accuſed, there was a neceſſity of a ſtop to be put to it. If it be true what was ſaid at the Counſel-board in anſwer to the commendations of Sir *William*, for his ſtopping the proceedings about Witchcraft, *viz.* That it was high time for him to ſtop it, his own Lady being accuſed; if that Aſſertion were a truth, then *New-England* may ſeem to be more beholden to the accuſers for accuſing of her, and thereby neceſſitating a ſtop, than to Sir *William*, or to the Advice that was given him by his Paſtor.[170]

Mr. *C. M.* having been very forward to write Books of Witchcraft, has not been ſo forward either to explain or defend the Doctrinal part thereof, and his belief (which he had a Years time to compoſe) he durſt not venture ſo as to be copied.[171] Yet in this of the Life of Sir *William* he ſufficiently teſtifies his retaining that Heterodox belief, ſeeking by frightfull ſtories of the ſufferings of ſome, and the refined ſight of others, *&c.* P. 69 to obtrude upon the World, and con-

[170] Dr. Douglaſs goes further in this Matter. He ſays that "ſome of the Confeſſing Witches, by over-acting their Parts in accuſing ſome of Gov. Phips's, and the Rev. Mr. Mather's Relations; as alſo ſome of the Accuſed good Chriſtians, and of good Eſtates, thoſe arreſted the Accuſers in high Actions for Defamation; this put a ſtop to Accuſations."—*Summary*, i, 450.

[171] Referring to certain Anſwers in writing put into Mr. Calef's Hands, with an Injunction againſt his printing them. See *ante*, Vol. II, Page 86.

firm it in ſuch a belief, as hitherto he either cannot or will not defend, as if the Blood already ſhed thereby were not ſufficient.[172]

Mr. *I. Mather*, in his *Caſes of Conſcience*, P. 25, tells of a Bewitched Eye, and that ſuch can ſee more than others. They were certainly bewitched Eyes that could ſee as well ſhut as open, and that could ſee what never was, that could ſee the Priſoners upon the Afflicted, harming of them, when thoſe whoſe Eyes were not bewitched could have ſworn that they did not ſtir from the Bar. The Accuſers are ſaid to have ſuffered much by biting, P. 73. And the prints of juſt ſuch a ſet of Teeth, as thoſe they Accuſed, had, but ſuch as had not ſuch bewitch'd Eyes have ſeen the Accuſers bite themſelves, and then complain of the Accuſed. It has alſo been ſeen when the Accuſed, inſtead of having juſt ſuch a ſet of Teeth, has not had

[172] This Statement is fully borne out, as will be ſeen on referring to the Life of Phips, as directed above, or to the ſame in the *Magnalia*, B. ii, 60, *et ſeq.*; one Extract here muſt ſuffice: "But of all the *Preternatural* things which befel theſe People, there were none more unaccountable than thoſe, wherein the preſtigious *Dæmons* would ever now and then cover the moſt *Corporeal* Things in the World with a *Faſcinating Miſt* of Inviſibility. As now; a Perſon was cruelly aſſaulted by a *Spectre*, that, ſhe ſaid, run at her with a *Spindle*, though no Body elſe in the Room could ſee either the *Spectre* or the *Spindle*: At laſt, in her Agonies, giving a Snatch at the *Spectre*, ſhe pulled the *Spindle* away; and it was no ſooner got into her Hand, but the other Folks then preſent beheld that it was indeed a Real, Proper, Iron *Spindle*; which, when they locked up very ſafe, it was nevertheleſs by the *Dæmons* taken away to do farther Miſchief.' In the *Wonders of the Inviſible World* (Vol. I, 205), this Story of the Spindle will be ſeen among the *Curioſities*, and is given, as the Author there tells the Reader, as "a Bone to pick" for the *Dogmatical*. *See alſo* Lawſon, 102.

one in his head.[173] They were ſuch bewitched Eyes that could ſee the Poiſonous Powder (brought by Spectres P. 70.) And that could ſee in the Aſhes the print of the Brand, there inviſibly heate to torment the pretended Sufferers with, *&c.*[174]

Theſe with the reſt of ſuch Legends have this direct tendency, *viz.* To tell the World that the Devil is more ready to ſerve his Votaries, by his doing for them things above or againſt the courſe of Nature, ſhewing himſelf to them, and making explicit contract with them, *&c.* than the Divine Being is to his faithful Servants, and that as he is

[173] It is highly intereſting to hear the Doctor's Account of this: "It was alſo found, that the Fleſh of the Afflicted was often *Bitten* at ſuch a Rate, that not only the *Print of Teeth* would be left on their *Fleſh*, but the very *Slaver* of *Spittle* too: As there would appear juſt ſuch a *ſet of Teeth* as was in the *Accuſed*, even ſuch as might be clearly diſtinguiſhed from other People's. And uſually the *Afflicted* went through a terrible Deal of ſeeming Difficulties from the tormenting *Spectres*, and muſt be long waited on before they could get a Breathing Space from their Tormentors to give in their Teſtimonies."—*Life of Phips, in Magnalia*, B. ii, 61-2.

[174] The Doctor muſt once again be heard, otherwiſe the Reader can have but a faint Idea of what our Author is expoſing: "The Miſerable exclaimed extreamly of *Branding Irons* heating at the Fire on the Hearth to mark them; now, though the Standers by could ſee no *Irons*, yet they could ſee diſtinctly the Print of them in the Aſhes, and *ſmell* them too as they were carried by the *not-ſeen Furies*, unto the poor Creatures for whom they were intended; and thoſe poor Creatures were thereupon *Stigmatized* with them, that they will bear the Marks of them to their Dying Day. Nor are theſe the *Tenth Part* of the *Prodigies* that fell out among the Inhabitants of New England."—*Ibid.*, Page 61. If any one, after reading theſe ſtrongly expreſſed Opinions of the learned Doctor, will entertain Doubts, as to his extreme Credulity and Faith in Witchcraft, it is not likely to be in human Power to remove them.

willing, ſo alſo able to perform their deſires.[175] The way whereby theſe People are believed to arrive at a power to Afflict their Neighbours, is by a compact with the Devil, and that they have a power to *Commiſſionate* him to thoſe Evils, P. 72. However Irrational, or inſcriptural ſuch Aſſertions are, yet they ſeem a neceſſary part of the *Faith* of ſuch as maintain the belief of ſuch a ſort of *Witches*.

As the Scriptures know nothing of a covenanting or commiſſioning Witch, ſo Reaſon cannot conceive how Mortals ſhould by their Wickedneſs arrive at a power to Commiſſionate Angels, Fallen Angels, againſt their Innocent Neighbours. But the Scriptures are full in it, and the Inſtances numerous, that the Almighty, Divine Being has this prerogative to make uſe of what Inſtrument he pleaſeth, in Afflicting any, and conſequently to commiſſionate Devils: And tho this word commiſſioning, in the Authors former Books, might be thought to be by inadvertency, yet now after he hath been caution'd of it, ſtill to perſiſt in it ſeems highly Criminal. And therefore in the name of God, I here charge ſuch belief as guilty of Sacrilege in the higheſt Nature, and ſo much worſe than ſtealing Church Plate, *&c.* As it is

[175] The Cry of "Blaſphemer, Sadducee, Infidel, Liar, Slanderer," &c, &c., could not then, nor at any other Time, alter the Facts ſo truly and ſo ſuccinctly ſtated here. Againſt the above is found: "He inſinuates, that our Reverend Miniſters make the Devil an *Independent Being*, and (as he ſays) *conſequently a God*. An abominable Charge!" —*Some Few Remarks*, 8, 9. See, alſo, Vol. I, Page 72-3.

a higher Offence to ſteal any of the glorious Attributes of the Al[155]mighty, to beſtow them upon Mortals, than it is to ſteal the Utenſils appropriated to his Service. And whether to aſcribe ſuch power of commiſſioning Devils to the worſt of Men, be not direct Blaſphemy, I leave to others better able to determine. When the *Phariſees* were ſo wicked as to aſcribe to *Beelzebub*, the mighty works of Chriſt (whereby he did manifeſtly ſhew forth his Power and Godhead) than it was that our Saviour declar'd the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt to be unpardonable.

When the Righteous God is contending with Apoſtate Sinners, for their departures from him, by his Judgments, as Plagues, Earthquakes, Storms and Tempeſts, Sickneſſes and Diſeaſes, Wars, loſs of Cattle, *&c.* Then not only to aſcribe this to the Devil, but to charge one another with ſending or commiſſionating thoſe Devils to theſe things, is ſo abominable and ſo wicked, that it requires a better Judgment than mine to give it its juſt denomination.[176]

But that Chriſtians ſo called ſhould not only charge their fellow Chriſtians therewith, but pro-

[176] And yet, as inconſiſtent with Reaſon as this abſurd Stuff is, it was the generally prevailing Belief, and is thus *defended* in the *Some Few Remarks*, P. 8: "The whole Body of the Miniſters in the Country are charged, as Guilty of Sacriledge in the higheſt Degree, if not direct Blaſphemy, and Diabolical Wickedneſs." It will at once be ſeen that this is as unjuſt a Charge as Malignity in its Blindneſs could invent. Well did our Quaker Poet write, ſome 17 Years ago:

"When the Thought of Man is free,
Error fears its lighteſt Tones;
So the Prieſt cried 'Sadducee!'
And the People took up Stones."

ceed to Trials and Executions; crediting that Enemy to all Goodneſs, and Accuſer of the Brethren, rather than believe their Neighbours in their own Defence; this is ſo Diabolical a Wickedneſs as cannot proceed, but from a Doctrine of Devils; how far damnable it is let others diſcuſs. Though ſuch things were acting in this Country in Sir *Williams* time, yet P. 65. There is a Diſcourſe of a Guardian Angel, as then over-ſeeing it, which notion, however it may ſuit the Faith of *Ethnicks*, or the fancies of *Trithemius;* it is certain that the Omnipreſent Being, ſtands not in need as Earthly Potentates do, of governing the World by Vicegerents. And if Sir *William* had ſuch an Inviſible pattern to imitate, no wonder though ſome of his Actions were unaccountable, eſpecially thoſe relating to Witchcraft: For if there was in thoſe Actions an Angel ſuperintending, there is little reaſon to think it was *Gabriel* or the Spirit of *Mercury*, nor *Hanael* the Angel or Spirit of *Venus*, nor yet *Samuel* the Angel or Spirit of *Mars;* Names feigned by the ſaid *Trithemius*, *&c.* It may rather be thought to be *Apollyon*, or *Abaddon.*

Obj. But here it will be ſaid, What are there no Witches? Do's not the Law of God command that they ſhould be extirpated? Is the Command vain and Unintelligible? *Sol.* For any to ſay that a Witch is one that makes a compact with, and Commiſſions Devils, *&c.* is indeed to render the Law of God vain and Unintelligible,

as having provided no way whereby they might be detected, and proved to be ſuch; And how the *Jews* waded thro this difficulty for ſo many Ages, without the Supplement of Mr. *Perkins* and *Bernard* thereto, would be very myſterious. But to him that can read the Scriptures without prejudice from Education, *&c.* it will manifeſtly appear that the Scripture is full and Intelligible, both as to the Crime and means to detect the culpable. He that ſhall hereafter ſee any perſon, who to confirm People in a falſe belief, about the power of Witches and Devils, pretending to a ſign to confirm it; ſuch as knocking off of inviſible Chains with the hand, driving away Devils by bruſhing, ſtriking with a Sword or Stick, to wound a perſon at a great diſtance, *&c.* may (according to that head of Mr. *Gauls*, quoted by Mr. *C. M.* and ſo often herein before recited, and ſo well proved by Scripture) conclude that he has *ſeen Witchcraft performed.*

[156] If *Baalam* became a Sorcerer by Sacrifizing and Praying to the true God againſt his viſible people; Then he that ſhall pray that the afflicted (by their *Spectral* Sight) may accuſe ſome other Perſon (whereby their reputations and lives may be indangered) ſuch will juſtly deſerve the Name of a *Sorcerer.* If any Perſon pretends to know more than can be known by humane means, and profeſſeth at the ſame time that they have it from the *Black-Man, i. e. the Devil,* and ſhall from hence give Teſtimony againſt the Lives of

others, they are manifeſtly ſuch as have a familiar Spirit; and if any, knowing them to have their Information from the *Black-man*, ſhall be inquiſitive of them for their Teſtimony againſt others, they therein are dealing with ſuch as have a *Familiar-Spirit*.

And if theſe ſhall pretend to *ſee the dead* by their *Spectral Sight*, and others shall be inquiſitive of them, and receive their Anſwers what it is the *dead ſay*, and who it is they accuſe, both the one and the other are by Scripture *Guilty of Necromancy*.

Theſe are all of them crimes as eaſily proved as any whatſoever, and that by ſuch proof as the Law of God requires, ſo that it is *no Unintelligible Law*.

But if the Iniquity of the times be ſuch that theſe Criminals not only Eſcape Indemnified, but are Incouraged in their wickedneſs, and made uſe of to take away the Lives of others, this is worſe than a making the Law of God *Vain*, it being a rendring of it *dangerous*, againſt the Lives of Innocents, and without all hopes of better, ſo long as theſe Bloody Principles remain.

As long as Chriſtians do Eſteem the *Law of God to be Imperfect*, as not deſcribing that crime that it requires to be Puniſh'd by Death.

As long as men ſuffer themſelves to be Poiſon'd in their Education, and be grounded in a *Falſe Belief by the Books of the Heathen*.

As long as the *Devil* ſhall be believed to have *a Natural Power, to Act above and againſt a courſe of Nature*.

As long as the *Witches* ſhall be believed to have a Power to *Commiſſion him.*

As long as the *Devil's Teſtimony*, by the pretended afflicted, ſhall be received as *more valid to Condemn*, than their Plea of *Not Guilty* to acquit.

As long as the *Accuſed* ſhall have their *Lives and Liberties* confirmed and reſtored to them, *upon their Confeſſing themſelves Guilty.*

As long as the *Accuſed* ſhall be forc't to *undergo Hardſhips and Torments* for their not Confeſſing.

As long as *Tets* for the *Devil to Suck* are ſearched for upon the Bodies of the accuſed, as a token of guilt.

As long as the *Lord's Prayer* ſhall be profaned, by being made a Teſt, who are culpable.

As long as *Witchcraft*, *Sorcery*, *Familiar Spirits*, *and Necromancy*, ſhall be improved to diſcover who are *Witches*, *&c.*

So long it may be expected that innocents will ſuffer as Witches.

So long God will be Daily diſhonoured, And ſo long his Judgments, muſt be expected to be continued.[177]

FINIS.

[177] Theſe Notes may fittingly be cloſed by another Extract from our amiable Quaker Poet, who ſeems attentively to have examined the Characters of both the *Wonders* and the *More Wonders:*

"In the ſolemn Days of Old,
Two Men met in Boſton Town—
One a Merchant Frank and bold,
One a Preacher of renown.

Cried the laſt, in bitter Tone—
'Priſoner of the Wells of Truth,
Satan's Hireling thou haſt ſown
With his Tares the Heart of Youth!'

Spake the honeſt Merchant then—
God be Judge 'twixt Thee and I;
All thou knowſt of Truth hath been
Unto Men like thee a lie."

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

Examination of Giles Cory.

WHY this Examination was not given by Dr. Mather, in his Account of the Witchcraft, cannot be certainly ſtated; while it may be conjectured that it was omitted for one of the two following Reaſons: 1ſt, it may have been thought not ſufficiently damning to the Accuſed; or, 2dly, it may have been rejected, as a great Part of the Proceedings was, for want of Room. It ſeems not now to be among the Copies of thoſe Proceedings recently made, or Mr. Woodward would not have omitted it in his Work. It is given here, as tranſcribed by Mr. David Pulſifer, for the Edition of the *More Wonders*, &c., publiſhed in Salem by Cuſhing & Appleton, in 1823. The previous Edition, of courſe, does not contain it.[1]

The Examination of Giles Cory, at a Court at Salem Village, held by John Hathorn and Jonathan Curwin, Eſqrs., April 19, 1692.

Giles Cory, you are brought before Authority upon

[1] As will be ſeen, Mr. Pulſifer modernized the Orthography, while we have corrected the Punctuation, in a few Inſtances, and capitalized it agreeable to our previous uniform Old Style.

high Suſpicion of ſundry Acts of Witchcraft. Now tell us the Truth in this Matter.

I hope, through the Goodneſs of God, I ſhall; for that Matter I never had no Hand in, in my Life.

Which of you have ſeen this Man hurt you?

Mary Wolcott, Mercy Lewis, Ann Putman, Jr., and Abigail Williams affirmed he had hurt them.

Hath he hurt you too? ſpeaking to Elizabeth Hubbard. She going to anſwer was prevented by a Fit.

Benjamin Gold, Hath he hurt you?

I have ſeen him ſeveral Times, and been hurt after it, but cannot affirm that it was he.

Hath he brought the Book to any of you?

Mary Wolcott and Abigail Williams and others affirmed he had brought the Book to them.

Giles Cory, they accuſe you, or your Appearance, of hurting them, and bringing the Book to them. What do you ſay? Why do you hurt them? Tell us the Truth.

I never did hurt them.

It is your Appearance hurts them, they charge you; tell us. What have you done?

I have done nothing to damage them.

Have you never entered into Contract with the Devil?

I never did.

What Temptations have you had?

I never had Temptations in my Life.

What! have you done it without Temptations?

What was the Reaſon (ſaid Goodwife Bibber) that you were frighted in the Cow-houſe? And then the Queſtioniſt was ſuddenly ſeized with a violent Fit.

Samuel Braybrook, Goodman Bibber, and his Daughter, teſtified that he had told them this Morning that he was frighted in the Cow-houſe.

Cory denied it.

This was not your Appearance but your Perſon, and you told them ſo this Morning. Why do you deny it?

What did you ſee me in the Cow-houſe?

I never ſaw nothing but my Cattle.

Divers witneſſed that he told them he was frighted.

Well, what do you ſay to theſe Witneſſes?

What was it frighted you?

I do not know that ever I ſpoke the Word in my Life.

Tell the Truth. What was it frighted you?

I do not know any Thing that frighted me.

All the Afflicted were ſeized now with Fits, and troubled with Pinches. Then the Court ordered his Hands to be tied.

What! Is it not enough to act Witchcraft at other Times, but muſt you do it now in Face of Authority?

I am a poor Creature and cannot help it.

Upon the Motion of his Head again, they had their Heads and Necks afflicted.

Why do you tell ſuch wicked Lies againſt Witneſſes, that heard you ſpeak after this Manner, this very Morning?

I never ſaw anything but a black Hog.

You ſaid that you were ſtopped once in Prayer; what ſtopt you?

I cannot tell. My Wife came towards me and found Fault with me for ſaying living to God and dying to Sin.

What was it frighted you in the Barn?

I know nothing frighted me there.

Why there are three Witneſſes that heard you ſay ſo to-day.

I do not remember it.

Thomas Gold teſtified that he heard him ſay, that he knew enough againſt his Wife, that would do her Buſineſs.

What was that you knew againſt your Wife?

Why, that of living to God, and dying to Sin.

The Marſhal and Bibber's Daughter confirmed the ſame; that he ſaid he could ſay that that would do his Wife's Buſineſs.

I have ſaid what I can ſay to that.

What was that about your Ox?

I thought he was hipt.

What Ointment was that your Wife had when ſhe was ſeized? You ſaid it was Ointment ſhe made by Major Gidney's Direction.

He denied it, and ſaid ſhe had it of Goody Bibber, or from her Direction.

Goody Bibber ſaid it is not like that Ointment.

You ſaid you knew upon your own Knowledge, that ſhe had it of Major Gidney.

He denied it.

Did you not ſay, when you went to the Ferry with your Wife, you would not go over to Boſton now, for you ſhould come yourſelf next Week?

I would not go over becauſe I had not Money.

The Marſhal teſtified he ſaid as before.

One of his Hands was let go, and ſeveral were afflicted. He held his Head on one Side, and then the Heads of ſeveral of the Afflicted were held on one Side. He drew in his Cheeks, and the Cheeks of ſome of the Afflicted were ſuckt in.

John Bibber and his Wife gave in Teſtimony concerning ſome Temptations he had to make away with himſelf.

How doth this agree with what you ſaid, that you had no Temptations?

I meant Temptations to Witchcraft.

If you can give way to ſelf-murther, that will make way to Temptation to Witchcraft.

Note.—There was Witneſs by ſeveral, that he ſaid he would make away with himſelf, and charge his Death upon his Son.

Goody Bibber teſtified that the ſaid Cory called ſaid Bibber's Huſband, Damned Deviliſh Rogue.

Other vile Expreſſions teſtified [to] in open Court by ſeveral others.

Salem Village, April 19, 1692. Mr. Samuel Paris being deſired to take in Writing the Examination of Giles Cory, delivered it in; and upon hearing the ſame, and ſeeing what we did ſee at the Time of his Examination, together with the Charge of the afflicted Perſons againſt him, we committed him to their Majeſties Gaol.[2]

JOHN HATHORN.

NUMBER II.

THE following Ballad, in the Chevy Chaſe Style, was cut from a Newſpaper ſixteen years ago. No one at this Day will probably require to be informed who was the Author of it, as but *one* Perſon probably *could* have written it. I have not looked over the Poems of Mr. Whittier to ſee if it be there. Any one having an inclination may do ſo. The Introduction accompanied it, on its firſt appearance:

[2] It does not appear that theſe Minutes of Examination were read to the Accuſed; or that any Opportunity was afforded him to correct any Misſtatements which the biaſſed Scribe might have made, careleſſly or purpoſely; while, viewing the Caſe as it ſtands, it ſeems incredible that the Accuſed could have been thought deſerving of even a lenient Reprimand. Too humiliating for Contemplation!

The following Ballad is handed in for Preſervation as illuſtrative of that dark Period in our local Hiſtory. Giles Corey and his Wife lived in what is now Danvers, and the Spot is now pointed out on the Eſtate of Hon. Daniel P. King where their Houſe formerly ſtood. The Localities are faſt fading out from Remembrance, and I venture the Suggeſtion that it may be in the Province of the Hiſtorical Department of our Eſſex Inſtitute to mark them by ſome permanent Monumental Erection.—*Salem Obſerver.*

GILES COREY AND GOODWYFE COREY.

A BALLAD OF 1692.

Come all New-England Men
  And hearken unto me,
And I will tell what did befalle
  Upon ye Gallows Tree.

In Salem Village was the Place
  As I did heare them ſaye,
And Goodwyfe Corey was her Name
  Upon that paynfull Daye:

This Goody Corey was a Witch
  The People did believe,
Afflicting of the Godly Ones
  Did make them ſadlie Greave.

There were two pyous Matron Dames
  And goodly Maidens Three,
That cryed upon this heynous Witch
  As you ſhall quicklie ſee.

Goodwyfe Bibber, ſhe was one,
  And Goodwyfe Goodall two,

Theſe were ye ſore afflicted ones
By Fyts and Pynchings too:

And thoſe Three Damſels fair
She worried them full ſore,
As all could ſee upon their Arms
The divers Marks they bore.

And when before the Magiſtrates
For Tryall ſhe did ſtand,
This Wicked Witch did lye to them
While holding up her Hand;

"I pray you all Good Gentlemen
Come liſten unto me,
I never harmed thoſe two Goodwyfes
Nor yet theſe Children Three:"

"I call upon my Saviour Lord"
(Blaſphemouſly ſhe ſayed)
"As Witneſs of my Innocence
In this my hour of Need."

The Godly Miniſters were ſhockt
This Witch-prayer for to hear,
And ſome did ſee ye Black Man* there
A whiſpering in her Eare.

The Magiſtrates did ſaye to her
Moſt ſurely thou doth lye,
Confeſs thou here thy helliſh Deeds
Or ill Death thou muſt dye.

She rent her Cloaths, ſhe tore her Haire,
And lowdly ſhe did crye,

* Satan.

" May Chriſte forgive mine Enimies
When I am called to dye."

This Goodwyfe had a Goodman too,
Giles Corey was his Name,
In Salem Gaol they ſhut him in
With his blaſphemous Dame.

Giles Corey was a Wizzard ſtrong,
A ſtubborn Wretch was he,
And fitt was he to hang on high
Upon ye Locuſt Tree:

So when before ye Magiſtrates
For tryall he did come,
He would no true Confeſſion make
But was compleatlie dumbe.

" Giles Corey," ſaid ye Magiſtrate,
" What haſt thou heare to pleade
To theſe who now accuſe thy ſoule
Of Crymes and horrid Deed?"

Giles Corey—he ſayde not a Word,
No single Word ſpake he:
" Giles Corey," ſayth ye Magiſtrate,
" We'll preſs it out of thee."

They got them then a *heavy Beam*,
They layde it on his Breaſt,
They loaded it with heavy Stones,
And hard upon him preſt.

" More weight," now ſayd this wretched Man,
" More weight," again he cryed,
And he did no Confeſſion make
But wickedlie he Dyed.

Dame Corey lived but ſix Dayes more,
But ſix Day's more lived ſhe,
For She was hung at Gallows Hill
Upon ye Locuſt Tree.

Rejoyce all true New-England Men,
Let Grace ſtill more abounde,
Go ſearch ye Land with myght and maine
Till all theſe Imps be founde:

And that will be a glorious Daye,
A goodlie Sight to ſee,
When you ſhall hang theſe Brands of Fyre
Upon ye Gallows Tree.

NUMBER III.

Teſtimony of William Beale, of Marblehead, againſt Mr. Philip Engliſh of Salem, Given Auguſt 2d, 1692. Taken from the Original.

AS Philip Engliſh was a Man of a large Eſtate for thoſe Days, and carried on an extenſive Buſineſs, it may be thought ſingular that Mr. Calef ſhould make no Mention of his Caſe in his Work. It may be that he had not ſufficient Data for the Purpoſe; or, more probably, it may have been, that for certain Reaſons he choſe to leave the Matter in the Hands of the two Miniſters of the Old South, who, or one of whom, had not the Independence to work openly with Mr. Calef, but who, clandeſtinely, took the Part of the Accuſed, and helped him to eſcape. However this may have been, ſo far as Mr. Willard was con-

cerned, enough will have been ſeen in Mr. Calef's Work to cauſe an Agitation of the Queſtion. And yet, it will appear, from what is to follow, that Mr. Moody (then with Mr. Willard in the Old South) was the principal Inſtrument in the Protection and final Eſcape of Mr. Engliſh and his Wife from the Jaws of a "blind Ferocity."

The Teſtimony of William Beale, which follows was probably contrived by certain Parties to recover Property owned or claimed by Mr. Engliſh. At the Time of his Arreſt, he owned a Ship of 170 Tons, named the Porcupine, which was commanded by Robert Bartel, whoſe Son, William Bartel, was living in 1739, at the Age of 45.

Mr. Engliſh, it is ſaid, was an Epiſcopalian. Whether his Sentiments had anything to do with his being proceeded againſt, does not appear. He ſtated that by the Proſecution he was damaged £1,500. A Petition of his to the Committee appointed by the General Court to compenſate Sufferers may be ſeen in Mr. Woodward's *Collections*, ii, 233. It is curious to ſee now the Awards made to the Survivors of thoſe whoſe Mothers and Fathers had been judicially murdered! A few Pounds ſeems to have ſettled the Account.

What follows, previous to William Beale's Teſtimony, although once printed, will be quite new, probably, to the Majority of Readers; and it is due to the Memory of a perſecuted Family to perpetuate it in Connection with the wicked Attempt at their Ruin.

About the Year 1810, the Rev. Timothy Alden was engaged in preparing a Catalogue of Books for the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society. While in this Employment he procured from the Rev. William Bentley, D.D., of Salem, the enſuing Account of

Mr. Engliſh. What led to this Reſult was Mr. Alden's Endeavors to obtain Information concerning a Portſmouth Gentleman. Mr. Alden was then much intereſted in Portſmouth Affairs. Dr. Bently proceeds: "In the Times of the Witchcraft in Salem Village, no Perſon diſtinguiſhed for Property, and known in the commercial World, was accuſed but Philip Engliſh.[3] He came young into America, from the Iſland of Jerſey, lived in the Family of Mr. Hollingworth, a rich Inhabitant of Salem, and afterwards married his only Daughter and Child, Suſanna. The Wife had received a better Education than is common even at this Day [1809], as Proofs I hold ſufficiently diſcover.

"From ſome Prejudices, as early as April 21ſt, 1692, ſhe was accuſed of Witchcraft, examined, and committed to Priſon in Salem. Her Firmneſs is memorable. Six Weeks ſhe was confined; but, being viſited by a fond Huſband, her Huſband was alſo accuſed, and confined in the ſame Priſon. By the Interceſſion of Friends, and by a Plea that the Priſon was crowded, they were removed to Arnold's Jail in Boſton, till the Time of Trial.

"In Boſton, upon giving Bail, they had the Liberty of the Town, only lodging in Priſon. Upon their Arrival, Meſſrs. Willard and Moodey viſited them, and diſcovered every Diſpoſition to conſole them in their Diſtreſs. On the Day before they were to return to Salem for Trial, Mr. Moodey waited upon them in the Priſon, and invited them to publick Worſhip. On the Occaſion he choſe for the Text, IF THEY PERSECUTE YOU IN ONE CITY, FLEE TO ANO-

[3] This Opinion of the Doctor may be queſtioned, ſo long as we do not know by what Standard he meaſured Wealth at that Time.

THER. In the Diſcourſe, with a manly Freedom, he juſtified every Attempt to eſcape from the Forms of Juſtice, when Juſtice was violated in them. After Service Mr. Moodey viſited the Priſoners in the Gaol, and aſked Mr. Engliſh whether he took Notice of his Diſcourſe? Mr. Engliſh ſaid he did not know whether he had applied it as he ought, and wiſhed ſome Converſation upon the Subject. Mr. Moodey then frankly told him that his Life was in Danger, and he ought by all means to provide for an Eſcape. Many, ſaid he, have ſuffered. Mr. Engliſh then replied, God will not ſuffer them to hurt me. Upon this, Mrs. Engliſh ſaid to her Huſband, Do you not think that they, who have ſuffered already, are innocent? He ſaid, Yes. Why then may not we ſuffer alſo? Take Mr. Moody's Advice. Mr. Moody then told Mr. Engliſh, that, if he would not carry his Wife away, he would. He then informed him, that he had perſuaded ſeveral worthy Perſons in Boſton, to make Proviſion for their Conveyance out of the Colony; and, that a Conveyance had been obtained, encouraged by the Governour, Gaoler, &c., which would come at Midnight, and that proper Recommendations had been obtained to Gov. Fletcher of New-York; ſo that he might give himſelf no concern about any one Circumſtance of the Journey; that all Things were amply provided. The Governour alſo gave Letters to Gov. Fletcher, and, at the Time appointed, Mr. Engliſh, his Wife, and Daughter were taken and conveyed to New York. He found that, before his Arrival, Mr. Moodey had diſpatched Letters, and the Governour, with many private Gentlemen came out to meet him; and the Governour entertained him at his own Houſe, and paid him

every Attention, while he remained in the City. On the next Year he returned.[4]

"In all this Buſineſs, Mr. Moody openly juſtified Mr. Engliſh, and, in defiance of all the Prejudices which prevailed, expreſſed his Abhorrence of the Meaſures which had obliged a uſeful Citizen to flee from the Executioners. Mr. Moodey was commended by all diſcerning Men; but he felt the angry Reſentment of the deluded Multitude of his own Times; among whom, ſome of high Rank were included. He ſoon after left Boſton and returned to Portſmouth.

"Mrs. Engliſh died in 1694, at 42 Years of Age, in Conſequence of the ungenerous Treatment ſhe had received. Her Huſband died at 84 Years of Age, in 1734.

"This is the Subſtance of Communications made to me at different Times from Madam Suſanna Hathorne, his great-grand-Daughter, who died in Salem, 28 Auguſt, 1802, at the Age of 80 Years, who received the Account from the Deſcendants of Mr. Engliſh, who dwelt upon his Obligations to Mr. Moodey with great Pleaſure."

William Beale[5] of Marbllee Head, aged upward of Sixty Yeares, teſtifieth and ſaith, that laſt March paſt was twelve Moenth, towards the latter end of the Moenth; then myſelf beeinge in the Houſe of George

[4] Mr. Engliſh was arreſted by Jacob Manning, the Deputy Marſhal, 31 May, 1692. Mrs. Engliſh was committed on April 22d, preceding. The Time of their Transfer to Boſton, I do not find; but Mr. Engliſh was in Priſon about nine Weeks. Hence it is inferred that their Eſcape was about the firſt of Auguſt following. See Felt, *Annals of Salem*, ii, 479.

[5] Of this Perſon, I have not attempted to add anything to what is contained in Lewis's *Lynn* and Savage's *Dictionary*. Perhaps he was wiſe enough to keep out of the Way of Philip Engliſh after his Return.

Bonfeilds, of Marbllee Head, whither I repaired, that I might haue helpe to nurſe, or Looke after mee, becauſe of a very greate and wracking Paine had ſeized upp on my Body, and the Diſtemper of the Small Pox then beeing in my Houſe, and my Son Jamis at the ſame Time then in my Houſe, lying ſick; then towards the latter End of that Moenth, Aforeſayed, in that Houſe, as I lay in my Bed, in the Morneinge, preſently after it was faiere light abroade in the Roome where I lay in my Bed, which was layed lowe and neere unto the Fire, towards the norward part of the Roome; I beeing broade Awake, I then ſaw upon the ſouth Iaume [Jamb] of that Chimny, A darke Shade which couered the Iaume of that Chimney aforeſayed, from the under Floore to the upper Flloore, and alſoe A dar[k]neſs more then it was beefore, in the ſoutherne Part of the Houſe, and alſoe in the Middllee of the Darkneſs, in the Shade uppon the Iaume of the Chimny aforeſayed, I beeheld ſomethinge of the Forme or Shape of A Man. I tooke moſt notice of his Legs, becauſe they weere of A very greate Statute, or Bigneſs. I wondred at the Sighte, and therefore I turned my Head as I lay in my Bed, and caſt my Eyes towards the ſouth Side of the Houſe, to ſee if the Sun weere riſen, or whether there weere any Perſon or anythinge in the Houſe, which by the help of the Sun might cauſe ſuch A Shade or Shape, but I ſaw non, nor any Lighte of the Sun in that Room then. I then turned my Head uppon the Pillow, where it was before, I ſaw in the darkneſs aforeſayed the plaine Shape or els the Perſon of Phillip Engliſh of Salem, the which, Reports ſay, married with William Hollingworths[6] Daughter of

[6] Mr. Savage ſays that Mr. Hollingworth's Name was *Richard.* Beale, though apparently much wanting in Senſe, may be ſuppoſed to have known the given Name of a prominent Man like Hollingworth,

Salem, ackcordinge to my beſt Iudgement, Knoledg and Underſtandinge of him, as I had formerly Knoledg and Ackyuaintance with him, my Coniecktures of him and theſe Paſſages aforeſayed were as followeth: what is this Mans buiſneſs heere now? I remember not that euer I bought or ſold with him, either more or leſs, or which way came hee hither, ſo ſoone this Morneinge, by Land or by Water; or hath he been at Marbllee Head all Nighte? And then laboreing to correckt my [Thoughts] not to thinke that hee was A Wich, and flyinge to our Omnipotent Jehouah for his Bleſſing and Protecktion, by ſecret Eiaculations, inſtantly the Roome, aforeſayed, became cleare, and the Shape, Shade, or Perſon vaniſhed; and this was about the Time News was brought to mee in the Morning, that my Son James was very like to recover of the Small Pox, which I left at Home ſick; and the ſame Day, in the After noone, came News that hee was ſuddenly ſtrooke with A Paine on his Side, and did not expect to liue three Houres; and according to my Iudgment, before three Houres weere ended, Newes came that he was departed this Life, at which Docktor Iackſon, which was his Docktor, and William Dagget, which was his Nurſe, both of Marbllee Head, told mee that they Admired and Wondred; and it was not many Moenths before, that my Son George Beale, departed this Life in the ſame Houſe, and complained of A ſtoping in his Throate, after he was recouered of the Small Pox.

with whom he was probably well acquainted. It ſeems however, that Beale confounded the Name of the Son with that of the Father. The Hollingworth Family came to Salem in 1635. The Name is often ſince ſpelt *Hollingſworth*. See *Founders of N. Eng.* P. 40.

Hee deceaſed Ianuary the 23 before my Son Eames deceaſe aforeſayde.

Marbllee Head
Aguſt the 2*cond*
1692

Atteſted to this Truth by
mee WILLIAM BEALE.

Far[ther] this Deponent teſtifieth that in the Springe of the Yeare before the New England Forces went for Cannady, Phillip Engliſh aforeſayed, came into a Neighbors Houſe where this Deponent then was preſent, and then in a fawning and flattering Manner, ſayed to me: You are him which can give mee A good Evidence in ſhewing mee the Bounds of my Land. This Deponent replyed, and ſayed, I know not of any you have; Phillip Engliſh replyed yes you doe, and If you will I[le pay] you well. I have a Peice of eighte in my Pocket for you, and named A Peice of Land ly[ing] a certaine Diſtance from my Houſe, which I think Mr. Richard Reede[7] of Marblle [Head] was then and is now in Poſſeſſion of it; this Deponent replyed, doe not tell mee of your Peice of eight, for If I bee called, I muſt give Evidence againſt you, and told him what I muſt ſay; at which hee ſeemed to bee moued, and told me that I lyed, with more Diſcourſe aboute [it,] and ſo then wee departed. Then the next [Feb?] enſuing, which was about the Time that the Forces began to com from Cannady, I then haueing heard that Phillip Engliſh aforeſayd, had arreſted Mr. Reade aforeſayde, about the Land aforeſayde, I then, as I thought it my Duty in Concience, ackquainted Mr. Reeds Son with what I could ſay concerninge the Titllee of the Lande aforeſayed, and withall told him of

[7] For ſome Account of him, conſult the *Hiſtory of the Reed Family*, by J. W. Reed, Eſq. publiſhed 1861, Page 42.

Witneſs, as namely Thomas Farrar Senr,[8] of Linn; then afterward uppon their Requeſt I rode to Lin and at Lin Mill there I found Thomas Farare, aforeſayed, and as wee rode alonge Lin Commons there beetwixt the Reuerende Mr. Sheapards Houſe and Mr. Leytons, then beinge in diſcourſe aboute the Titllee of the Lande aforeſayed, my Noſe guſhed out bleedeinge in a moſt extrordinary manner; ſo that I bllodyed a Hankerſhiff of an conſiderablle biggneſs, and allſoe ran downe uppon my Cloaths and uppon my Horſe Mane. I lighted of my Horſ thinking the iodginge [jogging] of my Horſe mighte cauſe it; but it kept on, Allthough not alltog[eth]er ſo bad, till I came to Mr. Reades at Marbllee head, and it hath not blead as I can remember neuer ſince I was a Boy, exept about that time, nor ſince that time, exept by Ackcident that it was hurt.

Thieſe Things that are ſet downe laſt were before the former Euidence. WILLIAM

Owned the aboue written before the BEALE Grand Iury vpon the Oath hee had taken in Covrt Jen^{ry} 12th, 1692.

Robert Payne
Foreman.

NUMBER IV.

ON a firſt and curſory Peruſal of the Examination of the Indian Woman belonging to Mr. Parris's Family, it was concluded not to Print it, and only refer to it; that is, only refer to the Extract from it

[8] In the *N. Eng. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.* Vol. VI, Page 316, ſome Account of this Individual will be found.

contained in the HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF BOSTON. But when the Editorial labor upon theſe Volumes was nearly completed, a reperuſal of that Examination was made, and the reſult determined the Editor to give it a place in this Appendix. His opinion of it, and of thoſe who procured it of the ſimple Indian, has been expreſſed in a previous Page.

The Examination is valuable on ſeveral accounts, the Chief of which is the Light it throws on the Commencement of the Deluſion. It does not appear that either Dr. Mather or Mr. Calef ever ſaw it, or their Accounts of the Beginning of the Tranſactions would have been more explicitly ſtated. The Original (now for the first time Printed,[9]) came into the Editor's Hands ſome five and twenty Year's ſince. It is more extenſive than any of the Examinations yet brought to light. This is accounted for by its being the Firſt of that cruel and ſenſeleſs Series of illegal Proceedings which ended in ſo much Agony, Diſtreſs, Wretchedneſs and Blood.

This Examination, more, perhaps, than any of the reſt, exhibits the atrocious Method employed by the Examinant of cauſing the poor, ignorant Accuſed to own and acknowledge Things put into their Mouths by a manner of queſtioning as much to be condemned as Perjury itſelf; inaſmuch as it was ſure to produce that Crime. In this Caſe the Examined was taken from Jail and placed upon the Stand, and was ſoon ſo confuſed that ſhe could ſcarcely know what to ſay; while it is evident that all of her Anſwers were at firſt true, becauſe direct, ſtraightforward, and reaſonable. The Strangeneſs of the Queſtions and the long Per-

[9] A brief and garbled Extract is placed after the "29th of March, among the Records, not dated, but 169½"!

ſiſtence of the Queſtioners could lead to no other reſult but the confounding of what little Underſtanding the Accuſed was at beſt poſſeſſed of. Hence this Record of incoherent Nonſenſe here ſubmitted; and of the ſame tenor was nearly all the Evidence uſed, which took away the Lives of numbers of innocent People.

The Examination was before Meſſrs. Hathorne and Corwin. The Former took down the reſult, which is all in his peculiar Chirography. The firſt Proceeding printed in Mr. Woodward's Collection, having relation to the Witchcraft affair, is a Warrant for the Apprehenſion of Sarah Good, and is dated Feb. 29th, 169½.[10] On the next Day, March 1ſt, the Conſtable, George Locker, made Return, that he had brought the ſaid "Saragh Good," &c. Whether ſhe were preſent at Tituba's Examination, does not appear; while the Documents ſhow that the Apprehenſion of Sarah Good, and the Examination of Tituba were on the ſame Day.

Tittube the Indian Woman Examined, March. 1. 169½.

Q. Why doe you hurt theſe poor Children? What harme haue thay done unto you? A. They doe noe harme to mee. I noe hurt them att all. Q. Why have you done itt? A. I haue done nothing. I cant tell when the Devill works. Q. What, doth the Devill tell you that he hurts them? A. Noe. He tells me nothing. Q. Doe you never ſee ſomething appeare in ſome Shape? A. Noe, never ſee any thing. Q. What Familiarity have you with the Devill, or what is itt that

[10] The Papers inſerted in the Records previous to this are, of courſe, out of place, as they are of a later Date. A Rearrangement, or Recompilation of the Witchcraft Papers muſt at ſometime be made.

you converſe withall? Tell the Truth, whoe itt is that hurts them? A. The Devill, for ought I know. Q. What Appearance, or how doth he appeare when he hurts them with what Shape, or what is he like, that hurts them A. Like a Man, I think. Yeſterday, I being in the Leantoe Chamber, I ſaw a Thing like a Man, that tould me ſearve him, and I tould him Noe, I would nott doe ſuch Thing. She charges Goody Oſburne and Sarah Good, as thoſe that hurt them Children, and would have had hir done itt; ſhe ſayth ſhe hath ſeen foure, two of which ſhe knew nott; ſhe ſaw them laſt Night, as ſhe was waſhing the Roome. They tould me hurt the Children, and would haue had me gone to Boſton. Ther was 5 of them with the Man. They tould me if I would nott goe and hurt them they would doe ſoe to mee. Att firſt I did agree with them, but afterward I tould them I doe ſoe noe more. Q. Would they have had you hurt the Children the laſt Night? A. Yes, butt I was ſorry, and I ſayd I would doe ſoe noe more, but tould I would Feare God. Q. Butt why did nott you doe ſoe before? A. Why they tell me I had done ſoe before, and therefore, I muſt goe on. Theſe were the 4 woemen, and the Man, but ſhe knew none but Oſburne and Good, only; the other were of Boſton. Q. Att firſt beginning with them, what then appeared to you; what was itt like, that gott you to doe itt? A. One like a Man, Juſt as I was goeing to ſleep, came to me. This was when the Children was firſt hurt. He ſayd he would kill the Children, and ſhe would never be well; and he ſayd, If I would nott ſerue him he would doe ſoe to mee. Q. Is that the ſame Man that appeared before to you? that appeared the laſt Night and tould you this? A. Yes. Q. what other Likeneſſes beſides a Man hath appeared to you? A. Sometimes

like a Hogge, ſometimes like a great black Dogge, foure tymes. Q. But what did they ſay unto you? A. They tould me ſerve him, and that was a good way; that was the black Dogge. I tould him I was afrayd. He tould me he would be worſe then to me. Q. What did you ſay to him then, after that? A. I anſwer, I will ſerve you noe Longer. He tould me he would doe me hurt then. Q. What other Creatures have you ſeen? A. A Bird. Q. What Bird? A. A little yellow Bird. Q. Where doth itt keep? A. With the Man whoe hath pretty Things more beſides. Q. What other pretty Things? A. He hath nott ſhowed them unto me, but he ſaid he would ſhowe them me to morrow, and tould me if I would ſerve him, I ſhould have the Bird. Q. What other Creatures did you ſee? A. I ſaw 2 Catts, one Red, another Black, as bigge as a little Dogge. Q. What did theſe Catts doe? A. I dont know. I have ſeen them two tymes. Q. What did they Say? A. They Say, Serve them. Q. When did you ſee them? A. I ſaw them laſt Night. Q. Did they do any hurt to you or threaten you? A. They did Scratch me. Q. When? A. After prayer; and Scratched me becauſe I would not ſerve hir. And when they went away I could nott ſee, but thay ſtood before the Fire. Q. What Service doe thay expect from you? A. They ſay more hurt to the Children. Q. How did you pinch them when you hurt them? A. The other pull mee and hall me to pinch the Childe, and I am very ſorry For itt? Q. Whatt made you hould your Arme when you were ſearched? What had you there? A. I had nothing. Q. Do nott thoſe Catts ſuck you? A. Noe, never yett. I would nott lett them. But they had almoſt thruſt me into the Fire. Q. How doe you hurt thoſe that you pinch? Doe you gett thoſe Catts,

or other Things to doe itt for you? Tell us, how is itt done? A. The Man ſends the Catts to me, and bids me pinch them; and I think I went once to Mr. Griggs's, and have pinched hir this Day in the Morneing. The Man brought Mr. Griggs's Mayd to me, and made me pinch hir. Q. Did you ever goe with theſe Woemen? A. They are very ſtrong, and pull me, and make me goe with them. Q. Where did you goe? A. Up to Mr. Putnams, and make me hurt the Child. Q. Whoe did make you goe? A. A Man that is very ſtrong, and theſe two woemen, Good, and Oſburne, but I am ſorry. Q. How did you goe? Whatt doe you Ride upon? A. I Ride upon a Stick, or Poale, and Good, and Oſburne behind me; we Ride takeing hold of one another; don't know how we goe, for I ſaw noe Trees, nor Path, but was preſently there, when wee were up. Q. How long ſince you began to pinch Mr. Parris's Children? A. I did nott pinch them att the Firſt, but thay made me afterward. Q. Have you ſeen Good, and Oſburne Ride upon a Poule? A. Yes, and have held Faſt by mee: I was nott att Mr. Griggs's but once, butt it may be ſend ſomething like mee; neither would I have gone, butt that they tell me, they will hurt me. Laſt Night they Tell me I muſt kill ſome body with the Knife. Q. Who were they that Told you Soe? A. Sarah Good, and Oſburne, and they would have had me killed Thomas Putnam's Child laſt Night. The Child alſoe affirmed, that att the ſame Tyme, thay would have had hir Cutt of hir own Head; for if ſhe would nott, they Tould hir Tittubee would Cutt itt off; and then ſhe Complayned att the ſame Time of a Knife Cutting of hir. When hir Maſter hath aſked hir about theſe Things, She Sayth thay will nott lett hir Tell, but Tell hir if ſhe Tells, hir Head ſhall be Cutt off. Q. Who Tells

you ſoe? A. The Man, Good, and Oſburnes Wife. Goody Good Came to hir laſt Night, when her Maſter was att Prayer, and would nott lett hir hear, and ſhe Could nott hear a good whyle. Good hath one of thoſe Birds, the yellow Bird, and would have given mee itt, but I would not have itt: and in Prayer Tyme ſhe ſtoped my Eares and would nott lett me hear. Q. What ſhould you have done with itt. A. Give itt to the Children, which yellow Bird hath bin ſeverall Tymes ſeen by the Children. I ſaw Sarah Good have itt on hir Hand, when ſhe Came to hir, when Mr. Parris was att prayer: I ſaw the Bird ſuck Good betweene the fore Finger and Long Finger, upon the Right Hand. Q. Did you never practiſe Witchcraft in your owne Country? A. Noe. Never before now. Q. Did you ſee them doe itt now? A. Yes. To Day; but twas in the Morning. Q. Butt did you ſee them doe itt now, while you are Examininge? A. Noe, I did nott See them, but I Saw them hurt att other Tymes. I ſaw Good have a Catt beſide the yellow Bird, which was with hir. Q. What hath Oſburne gott to goe with hir? A. Some thing I don't know what itt is. I can't name itt. I don't know how itt looks. She hath two of them. One of them hath Wings, and two Leggs, and a Head like a Woeman. The Children Saw the Same butt Yeſterday, which afterward Turned into a Woeman. Q. What is the Other Thing that Goody Oſburne hath? A. A Thing all over hairy; all the Face hayry, and a long Noſe, and I don't know how to tell how the Face looks; with Two Leggs, itt goeth uprighte, and is about Two or three Foot high, and goeth upright like a Man; and laſt Night itt Stood before the Fire, in Mr. Parris's Hall. Q. Whoe was that appeared like a Wolfe to Hubbard, as ſhe was goeing from Proctures? A. Itt was Sarah Good, and I ſaw hir ſend the Wolfe

to hir. Q. What Cloathes doth the Man appeare unto you in? A. Black Cloaths, ſometimes, ſometimes Searge Coat of other Couler; a Tall Man with white hayr, I think. Q. What Aparrell doe the Woemen ware? A. I don't know what Couller. Q. What kind of Cloathes hath She? A. A black ſilk Hood, with a white Silk Hood under itt, with Sopknotts, which Woeman I know not, but have ſeen hir in Boſton, when I lived there. Q. What Cloathes the little Woman? A. a Searge Coat with a white Cap, as I think. The Children having Fitts at this very Time, She was aſked, whoe hurt them? She Anſwers Goody Good; and the Children affirmed the ſame; butt Hubbard being taken in an Extreame Fitt; after, ſhe was aſked, whoe hurt hir? and ſhe ſayd ſhe Could nott tell, butt Sayd they blinded hir, and would not lett hir ſee, and after that, was once or twice taken dumb hir ſelf.

Second Examination. March. 2. 169½.

Q. What Covenant did you make with that Man that came to you? What did he tell you. A. He tell me he God, and I muſt beleive him, and ſerve him ſix Yeares, and he would give me many fine Things. Q. How longe a goue was this? A. About ſix Weeks, and a little more; Fryday Night before Abigall was Ill. Q. What did he ſay you muſt doe more? Did he ſay you muſt write any Thing? Did he offer you any Paper? A. Yes, the next Time he come to me, and ſhowed me ſome fine Things; ſome Thing like Creatures; a little Bird, ſome Thing like green and white. Q. Did you promiſe him this when he ſpake to you? Then what did you anſwer him. A I then Sayd this, I tould him I Could nott beleive him God; I tould him I aſk my Maiſter, and would have gone up, but he ſtopt mee, and would nott lett

me. Q. Whatt did you promiſs him? A. The firſt Tyme I beleive him God, and then he was Glad. Q. What did he ſay to you then? What did he ſay you muſt doe? A. Then he tell me they muſt meet together. Q. When did he ſay you muſt meet together? A. He tell me Weddneſday next, att my maſters Houſe, and then they all meet together, and thatt Night I ſaw them all ſtand in the Corner, all four of them, and the Man ſtand behind mee, and take hold of mee, to make mee ſtand ſtill in the Hall. Q. Whare was your Maſter then? A. In the other Roome. Q. What Time of Night? A. A little before prayer Time. Q. What did this Man ſay to you when he took hold of you? A. He ſay goe into the other Room and ſee the Children, and doe hurt to them, and Pinch them; and then I went in, and would nott hurt them a good while; I would nott hurt Betty, I loved Betty, but they hall me and make me pinch Betty, and the next Abigall, and then quickly went away altogether a[fter] I had pinch them. Q. Did you goe into that Room in your own Perſon, and all the reſt? A. Yes, and my Maſter did nott ſee us, for they would nottlett my Maſter ſee. Q. Did you goe with the Company? A. Noe, I ſtayd and the Man ſtayd with mee. Q. What did he then to you? A. He tell me my Maſter goe to Prayer, and he read in Book, and he aſk me what I remember, but don't you remember any thing? Q. Did he aſk you noe more but the frſt Time to ſerve him, or the second time? A. Yes, he aſk me againe, and if I ſerve him ſix yeares and he Come the Next Time, and ſhow mee a Book. Q. And when would he come then? A. The next Fyday, and ſhowed me a Book in the Day Time, betimes in the Morning. Q. And what Booke did he bring, a great or little Booke? A. He did nott ſhow itt

me, nor would nott, but had itt in his Pockett. Q. Did he nott make you write your Name? A. Noe, nott yett, for my Miſtris Called me into the other Roome. Q. Whatt did he ſay you muſt do in that Book? A. He ſayd, Write, and ſett my name to itt. Q. Did you Write? A. Yes, once I made a Marke in the Book, and made itt with red like Bloud. Q. Did he gett itt out of your Body? A. He ſaid he muſt gett itt out. The Next Time he Come againe he give me a Pin, tyed in a Stick, to doe itt with, butt he noe lett me Bloud with itt as yett, butt Intended another Time, when he came again. Q. Did you ſee any other Marks in his Book? A. Yes, a great many, ſome Marks Red, ſome Yellow, he opened his Book, and a great many Marks in itt. Q. Did he tell you the Names of them? A. Yes, of two, noe more; Good, and Oſburne, and he ſay they make them Marks in that Book, and he ſhewed them mee. Q. How many Marks doe you think there was? A. Nine. Q. Did thay write there Names? A. They made Marks, Goody Good ſayd ſhe made hir Mark, but Goody Oſburne would nott tell; ſhe was Croſs to mee. Q. When did Good tell you ſhe ſett hir Hand to the Book? The ſame Day I came hither to Priſon? Q. Did you ſee the Man thatt Morning? A. Yes, a litle in the Morning, and he tell me the Magiſtrates Come up to examine me. Q. What did he ſay you muſt ſay? A. He tell me, tell nothing, if I did he would cutt my Head off. Q. Tell us true how many Woemen doe uſe to come when you Rid abroad? A. Foure of them, theſe two, Oſburne, and Good, and thoſe two Strangers. Q. You ſay that there was Nine. Did he tell you whoe they were? A. Noe, he noe lett me ſee, but he tell me I ſhould ſee them the next Tyme. Q. What Sights did you ſee? A.

I ſee a Man, a Dogge, a Hogge, and two Catts, a Black and Red; and the ſtrange Monſter was Oſburnes, that I mentioed before; this was the Hayry Imp: the Man would give itt to mee, but I would nott have itt. Q. Did he ſhow you in the Book which was Oſburns and which was Goods Mark? A. Yes, I ſee there Marks.. Q. Butt did he tell the Names of the other? A. Noe ſir. Q. And what did he ſay to you when you made your Mark? A. He ſayed Serve mee, and always ſerve mee. The Man with the two Woemen Came from Boſton. Q. How many times did you goe to Boſton? A. I was goeing and then Came back againe. I was never att Boſton. Q. Whoe Came back with you againe? A. The Man came back with mee, and the Woemen goe away; I was nott willing to goe. Q. How farr did you goe, to what Towne? A. I never went to any Towne. I ſee noe Trees, noe Towne. Q. Did he tell you where the Nine Lived? A. Yes, ſome in Boſton, and ſome here in this Towne, but he would nott tell mee whoe thay were.

NUMBER V.

The Examination of Mary Clárk[11] *of Haverhill. Taken before Jno. Hauthorn, Eſq. and otheir their Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace, Auguſt 4th,* 1692.

THE Accuſed, Mary Clark, being called, it was enquired of Mary Walcot, if ever Clark had afflicted her? She anſwered Yes, that is the very

[11] There was a large Family of *Clarks* early at Haverhill. To what Family this injured Woman belonged, my Materials do not diſcloſe.

woman. And, upon Mary Clarks looking upon Walcott. and others of the afflicted, they were ſtruck into Fitts.

The Juſtices having uſed ſeverall Arguments (for the Good of her Soul) to confeſs, if ſhe knew herſelf guilty. She abſolutely denyed. And then the Conſtable[12] of Haverhill was called; and being aſked of what Fame and Reputation Mary Clark was off? He anſwered they had heard ſhe was or had been guilty of ſuch Things, but, as to any Thing in Particular, he could not ſay. The Juſtices aſked Mary Walcot if ſhe were not miſtaken in this Woman? Walcot anſwered, This is the very Woman I ſaw afflict Timothy Swan,[13] and ſhe has afflicted me ſeveral Times. And after a Fitt ſhe was then immediately in, ſhe ſaid ſhe ſaw the above Mary Clark afflict Betty Hubbard, and Ann Putnam.

The ſaid Mary Clark looking upon Walcott, Hubbard, Putnam, Warrin, they were in Fitts.

Mary Walcott haveing a Pinn runn into her Arme ſuddenly, ſaid that Mary Clark did it.

At the ſame Tyme Mary Warrin had a Pinn run into her Throat, under her Chin, which Mr. Noice took out.

Suſanna Sheldon, upon ſaid Examination, had four Pinns taken out of her Hand; ſaying that ſaid Clark put in two of them, and Mr. Uſher[14] the other two.

[12] In 1687, Joſeph Peaſely was choſen Conſtable, but there is no certainty that he exerciſed the Office in 1692. John Ayer, Jr., ſhared the Duties. See Chaſe, *Hiſt. Haverhill*, 145.

[13] Like the Clarks, the *Swan* Family was extenſive at Haverhill; but Mr. Chaſe did not find a Timothy.

[14] Perhaps Mr. Hezekiah, of Boſton. It may be he to whom Mr. Calef refers in his *Poſtſcript.* See Page 154, *original paging*.

Mary Poſt[15] ſaid ſhe ſaw the ſaid Clark afflict Timothy Swan.

Richard Carryer, a former Confeſſor ſaid he beleeved he ſaw the ſaid Mary Clark with ſome others and himſelf baptiſed at Newburry Falls.

Betty Hubbard[16] was ſtruck down, by her looking upon her.

It was aſked, if ſhe could ſay the Lords Prayer, perfectly.

She erred much.

Ann Putnam ſaid that ſaid Clark had afflicted her by pinching, choakeing, and ſtriking her in the Face, and told her, that her Name was Miſtriſs Mary Clark, but that People uſed to call her Goody Clark.

Ann Putnam ſaid further, that ſhe ſaw the ſaid Clark ſtabb Timothy Swan with a ſquare ragged Speare, as long as her Hand. And, being aſked why ſhe called it a *ragged* Speare, ſhe ſaid becauſe it was ragged like a File.

Mary Poſt ſaid ſhe ſaw this Mary Clarks Spirit at the Village Witch-meeting, and that ſhe did eat and drink there as the reſt did. And further, ſhe has ſeen the ſaid Mary Clark afflict Timothy Swan.

I, underwritten, being appoynted by Authority, to take the within Examination, in Wryting, Doe teſtify upon Oath, taken in Court, that this is a true Coppy of the Subſtance of it, to the beſt of my Knowledge.

[*All of the Above is in the Hand of Edward Rawſon. There is no Signature attached.*]

[15] I do not find the Name of Poſt in Mr. Chaſe's *Haverhill.* There was a Family at Woburn; and, according to Mr. Savage, John Poſt, of that Town, had by Wife Mary Tyler, a Daughter Mary, born 1664, who may have been this Witneſs.

[16] The ſame who has been ſo often mentioned as Elizabeth Hubbard. In the next Article of this Appendix ſhe is particularly noticed.

NUMBER VI.

An Account of the Life and Character of the Rev. Samuel Parris, of Salem Village, and of his Connection with the Witchcraft Deluſion of 1692.

BY SAMUEL P. FOWLER, ESQUIRE.[17]

MR. Parris, whoſe Hiſtory is ſo intimately connected with the Salem Witchcraft Deluſion of 1692, was a Son of Thomas Parris of London, and was born in 1653. He was a Member of Harvard College, but did not graduate at that Inſtitution. He was at firſt a Merchant in Boſton, but not ſucceeding in Buſineſs he left it, and offered himſelf as a Candidate for the Miniſtry.

The People at Salem Village being without a Paſtor, on the 15th of November, 1688, ſent a Committee, conſiſting of three Perſons, viz: Captain John Putnam, Mr. Joſhua Rea, Sen., and Francis Nurſe, "to treat with Mr. Parris about taking miniſterial Office." Nothing was done however at this Meeting towards effecting a Settlement, and on the 25th of November, after the Services in the Afternoon, the Audience was ſtayed, and by a general Vote, requeſted Mr. Parris to take Office. On the 10th of December, 1688, the Brethren of the Church, ſent Lieut. Nath'l Putnam, Sergeant Fuller, Mr. Joſhua Rea, Sen., and Sergeant Ingerſoll, who came, they ſaid, "as Meſſengers to

[17] Mr. Fowler has very kindly placed this highly valuable Article at the Editor's Diſpoſal. It was originally read before the *Eſſex Inſt't.*

know whether Mr. Parris would accept of Office." He replied, "ye Work was weighty, they ſhould know in due Time." After this, ſeveral came on like Errands, but as yet, no Propoſals of Maintenance were tendered.

On the 29th of April, 1689, Deacons Nath'l Ingerſoll and Edward Putnam, Daniel Rea, Thomas Fuller, Jr., and John Tarbell, came to Mr. Parris, from the meeting Houſe, where there had been a general Meeting of the Inhabitants, and ſaid, "being the aged Men had had the Matter of Mr. Parris's Settlement ſo long in Hand, and effected nothing, they were deſirous to try what the Younger could do." Upon Mr. Parris's aſking them what their Will was, they anſwered "they were ſent, by ye People to deſire him to take Office, and had concluded to offer him ſixty Pounds for his Salary." Twenty Pounds of which, was to be in Money, and the Remainder as follows: Wheat at 4 Shillings per Buſhel, Indian Corn at 2 Shillings per Buſhel, Barley, Rye and Malt at 3 Shillings per Buſhel, Pork at 2 Pence per. Pound, Beef at 1½ Pence per. Pound.

The Committee being deſirous of a ſpeedy Anſwer, Mr. Parris informed them, that he would accept of their Propoſals, provided they would comply with the following Proviſions for his Maintenance: 1ſt, "When Money ſhall be more plenteous, the Money Part to be paid me, ſhall accordingly be increaſed. 2d, Tho' Corn or like Proviſions ſhould ariſe to a higher Price than you have ſet, yet for my own Family Uſe, I ſhall have what is needful, at ye Price now ſtated; and ſo if it fall lower. 3d, The whole ſixty Pounds to be only from our Inhabitants, that are dwelling in our Bounds, or proportionable to what Lands they have, within y^e^ ſame. 4th, No Proviſion to be

brought in, without juſt aſking whether needed, and myſelf to make choice of what, unleſs ye Perſon is unable to pay in any Sort but one. 5th, Fire Wood to be given in yearly freely. 6th, Two Men to be choſen yearly to ſee that due Payments be made. 7th, Contributions each Sabbath in Papers, and only ſuch as are in Papers, and dwelling within in our Bounds, to be accounted as Part of the ſixty Pounds. 8th, As God ſhall pleaſe to bleſs ye Place, ſo as to be able to riſe higher, than y^e^ ſaid ſixty Pounds, that then a proportionable Increaſe be made. If God ſhall pleaſe for our Sins to diminiſh the Subſtance of ſaid Place, I will endeavour accordingly to bear ſuch Loſſes, by proportionable Abatements of ſuch as ſhall reaſonably deſire it."

Theſe Propoſals of Mr. Parris to the Committee were read to them and accepted, and they expreſſed their Belief, that the Inhabitants would approve of them. But it would ſeem that at a Meeting of the People of the Village, May 17th, 1689, Mr. Parris was ſent for, when Objections were made againſt the 5th and 7th Proviſions of his Settlement. "Touching the 5th it was objected, they had no Commons, and therefore could not conveniently give in Fire Wood, becauſe ſome muſt bring in half Cord, others more, others leſs, &c. Therefore they would allow ſix Pounds per annum, one third Money, which would buy 30 Cords, as they had dealt by former Miniſters. Parris replied, he was willing to eaſe them, but then he deſired, that one of them would take the ſix Pounds annually, and furniſh him with 30 Cords of Wood, to which Propoſal he found none of them willing to conſent. He then told them, if he did accept the ſix Pounds, it might in Time be inſufficient to purchaſe 30 Cords of Wood. In reply to the Fears of Parris

in regard to the Riſe of the Price of Wood, he ſays, I had a general Anſwer from many that at four Shillings per Cord, I ſhould be ſupplied during my Life among them. He continues, after much urging, I replied I would try them for one Year. Mr. Parris ſays: "touching his 7th Proviſion, nothing at the Time was ſaid or objected againſt Contributions by Papers, for it had been their former uſual Way, but only againſt thoſe, that dwelled within their Bounds, they urging that ſome did not live within their Bounds, yet they were conſtant Hearers, and therefore it was meet to have their Help.

"In fine, after much Agitation here, it was agreed on my Part and theirs, that ſuch out Perſons had Liberty to pleaſe themſelves, in paying to the Miniſter or the meeting Houſe. And ſo I left them, fully acquieſcing with my aforeſaid Conditions, not doubting but that they had truly entered it on the Records, as I took for granted, nor heard any Thing otherwiſe, till after my Ordination a good while, in another public Meeting of the Village; when another Vote, recorded and read, vaſtly different from the Agreement, as above ſaid—which I then openly did, and ſtill muſt deny, to be any Contract of mine."

We have now preſented Mr. Parris's Account, of the Tranſactions between himſelf and the People of Salem Village, in regard to his Settlement. This was drawn up by him, and uſed upon his Trial before the Court of Common Pleas at Ipſwich in 1696-7. We have been thus particular in Relation to the Settlement of Mr. Parris at Salem Village, it being one of the Cauſes, which led to the moſt bitter parochial Quarrel, that ever exiſted in New-England, and in the Opinion of ſome Perſons, was the chief or primary Cauſe of that world-wide famous Deluſion, the Salem Witchcraft.

Salem Village, ſince embraced in the Pariſh of Rev. Dr. Milton P. Braman, in Danvers, Maſſachuſetts, was, on the 19th of November, 1689 (when the Rev. Samuel Parris entered upon his Duties there as a Paſtor and Teacher,) a ſmall Hamlet or Village, inhabited principally by Farmers, but embracing within its Limits, much adjoining Territory, extending its Lines to Wills Hill, now Middleton, there being many Families who attended Worſhip at Salem Village. The number of rateable Polls in the Pariſh was 100. It appears, from the Records, that Mr. Parris preſented to his Church, upon his Settlement, a new Covenant and Form of Admiſſion for its Members, together with the Queſtion, who were the proper Subjects of Baptiſm? Theſe cauſed ſome Debate in the Church, but none oppoſed the final Action upon them. Some ſingular and unuſual Caſes of Diſcipline came before them, but they appeared to have been diſpoſed of peaceably. It was not until the 8th of October, 1691, that we diſcover any unfriendly feeling, exiſting between Mr. Parris and his People. It was on that Day, he ſays in his Church Records,—"Being my Lecture Day after public Service was ended, I was ſo bare of Fire Wood, that I was forced publicly to deſire the Inhabitants to take Care that I might be provided for, telling them, had it not been for Mr. Corwin (who had brought Wood, being here at my Houſe), I ſhould hardly have had any to burn." Upon the Paſtor's informing the Church of his Deſtitution of Fire Wood, the Brethren raiſed a Committee, who were inſtructed to ſee the Town Committee, and deſire them to make a Rate for the Miniſter. The Committee on Rates met November 10th, 1691, and reported that they did not ſee good Cauſe to take Notice of the Church

Committee, without they had a Letter to ſhow, under the Church and Paſtor's Hand. Upon this, Mr. Parris complained of the Treatment of the Committee towards him, but more eſpecially the Church, whom he ſaid manifeſted an indifference in this Affair. The Committee, whoſe Buſineſs it was to raiſe a Tax to procure the Paſtor's Wood, ſtill continuing to refuſe to do it, on the 27th of December, 1691, a Petition was ſent to the Quarter Seſſions, wherein the Petitioners complain, that "no Reparations of the Village Meeting Houſe has been for a great while regarded, ſo that broken Windows, ſtopt up ſome of them by Boards or otherwiſe, and others wide open, and is ſometimes ſo dark, that it is almoſt *unuſeful.*" The Court, upon this Petition, appointed a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Village, to chooſe a new Committee to meet on the 25th of January, 1692, for the Purpoſe of aſſeſſing Rates to repair the meeting Houſe, and procure the Paſtor's Wood. The Inhabitants of the Village met on that Day, and made choice of Joſeph Pope, Joſeph Holten, Jr., John Tarbell, Thomas Preſton, and James Smith, as their Committee.

This is the laſt we hear about this Affair of procuring Wood, &c., probably all further Conſideration of it was abſorbed in the great Witchcraft Deluſion, which was now cloſe at Hand, and about to break forth.

We are now brought to the Period of the Commencement of Salem Witchcraft, as it firſt developed itſelf in the Family of Samuel Parris, Miniſter at Salem Village in 1692.

Mr. Parris's Houſehold conſiſted, at this Time, of himſelf and Wife, his age being 39 Years, that of his Wife 44 Years, a Daughter Elizabeth, aged nine

Years, a Niece of eleven Years by the Name of Abigail Williams, and two Servants named John Indian, and Tituba his Wife, both Natives of South America, then called New Spain. Theſe were held as Slaves, and Parris probably came into poſſeſſion of them in ſome of his Commercial Tranſactions. By ſome Perſons, theſe Indians have been ſuppoſed to belong to the Aborigines of our Country and to have obtained their knowledge of Witchcraft from the Indian Powows; but this appears to have been a miſtake. Mr. Parris's neareſt Neighbors were Capt. Jona. Walcut, who had a Daughter called Mary, 17 years of Age, and his Pariſh Clerk. Thomas Putnam, who had a Daughter named Ann, aged 12 Years, and a ſervant Girl, living with him, named Mercey Lewis aged 17 Years, Mary Warren, aged 20 Years, lived with John Proctor, Elizabeth Booth, aged 18 Years, lived near to John Proctor, Sarah Churchill, aged 20 Years, lived in the Family of Geo. Jacobs, Sen., Suſannah Sheldon, aged 18 Years, lived in the Village. Theſe Girls, together with Abigail Williams, a Niece of Mr. Parris, aged 11 Years, were in the Habit of meeting in a Circle in the Village, to practice Palmiſtry, Fortune Telling, &c. It appears by Evidence, given at the Courts, that ſome of their Parents and Guardians did not approve of theſe Meetings. Mary Warren, one of the moſt Violent of the accuſing Girls, lived as we have before ſaid, with John Proctor, and at laſt became his principal Accuſer, upon his examination for Witchcraft. Proctor, out of all Patience with the Meetings of the Girls, compoſing this Circle, one Day ſaid he "was a going to the Village to bring Mary Warren, the Jade, Home; for, if let alone, theſe Girls would make us all *Devils and Witches together quickley.* They ſhould rather be had to the Whipping Poſt; but he

would fetch his Jade Home, and thraſh the Devil out of her." Proctor ſaid, when Mary Warren was firſt taken with Fits, he kept her cloſe to the Wheel, and threatened to thraſh her, and then ſhe had no more Fits; but the next Day, he being gone from Home, ſhe had her Fits again. If the accuſing Girls had been dealt with as John Proctor would have had them, we probably ſhould have had a ſhort Story to tell, about Salem Witchcraft. It is at the Meeting of this Circle of eight Girls, for the purpoſe of practiſing Palmſtry and Fortune Telling, that we diſcover the Germ, or the firſt Origin of the Deluſion. We have endeavored to follow them after the Excitement had ſubſided, for the Purpoſe of aſcertaining their Character in after Life. One only of this Circle, Ann Putnam, confeſſed her Folly, and ſought Forgiveneſs. Some of them grew up Licentious in their Habits, and all of them appear to have ſought Obſcurity. Their whole Courſe, as ſeen in their Depoſitions, diſcloſes much Malignancy, and their Ignorance was ſo great, that of the Eight accuſing Girls, Six of them ſigned their Names with a Croſs.

It was in the latter End of February, 1692, that the Daughter of Mr. Parris, named Elizabeth, aged 9 Years, together with his Niece, Abigail Williams, aged 12 Years, were taken Sick and received ſuch attention from Mrs. Parris as their Caſe ſeemed to require. But growing worſe under her Treatment, and not being able to aſcertain what their Diſeaſe was, application was made to their Family Phyſician, Dr. Gregg, living in the Village. He viſited them, and obſerved that they were afflicted with a ſad Diſtemper, the Name of which he could not tell. Other Phyſicians were called in, in Conſultation, when one of them gave it as his Opinion, that the Children were under

an evil Hand. It is probable that it was Dr. Gregg that ſuppoſed the Girls bewitched, for he had expreſſed the ſame Opinion of many of his Patients when he could not underſtand their Diſeaſe, many times before. It is highly probable that the Opinion of theſe Phyſicians went far to form the Belief of not only Parris, but alſo of his miniſterial Friends, in the Exiſtence of Witchcraft in the Village. Mr. Parris appears to have been much aſtoniſhed, when the Phyſicians informed him, that his Daughter and Niece were, no doubt, under an evil Hand. There is Evidence that Mr. Parris endeavored to keep the Opinion of the Phyſicians a Secret, at leaſt, till he could determine what Courſe to purſue. At this Time, Mary Sibley, a Member of his Church, gave directions to John Indian how to find out, who bewitched Betſy Parris and Nabby Williams. This was done without the Knowledge of Parris. The Means uſed to make this Diſcovery, was to make a Cake of Rye Meal, with the Urine of the Children, and Bake it in the Aſhes, and give it to a Dog to eat. Similar diſguſting Practices appear to have been uſed to diſcover and kill Witches, during the whole Period of the Deluſion.

On the 27th of March, 1692, Mr. Parris called together his Church, when he preſented Teſtimony againſt the Error of ſiſter Mary Sibley, in giving direction to John Indian in an unwarrantable Way, to find out Witches. Upon Mary Sibley's manifeſting Sorrow and Grief for her Conduct, the Brethren of the Church received Satisfaction. By the diabolical Means thus uſed by Mary Sibley, Mr. Parris ſuppoſed the Devil had been raiſed, and ſeeing the apparent diſtreſſed Condition of his Family, and not knowing what Courſe to purſue, requeſted ſome worthy Gentlemen of

Salem, and ſome neighboring Miniſters to conſult together at his Houſe; who when they came, and had inquired diligently into the Sufferings of the Afflicted, concluded they were Preternatural, and feared the Hand of Satan was in them. The Advice given to Parris by them was, that he ſhould ſit ſtill and wait upon the Providence of God, to ſee what Time might diſcover; and to be much in Prayer for the Diſcovery of what was yet ſecret. They alſo examined Tituba, who confeſſed the making a Cake, and ſaid her Miſtreſs in her own Country was a Witch, and had taught her ſome Means to be uſed for the Diſcovery of a Witch, and for the Prevention of being bewitched, &c. But ſaid ſhe herſelf, was not a Witch. Soon after this, there were two or three private Faſts at Parris's Houſe, one of which was kept by the neighboring Miniſters, and another in Public at the Village. And one general Faſt, by Order of the General Court, obſerved throughout the Colony, to ſeek the Lord, that he would rebuke Satan, and be a Light unto his People in this Day of Darkneſs.

It is evident from the Account given by Rev. John Hale, who was an Eye Witneſs to many of the Tranſactions at Salem Village, and one of the Miniſters called for Conſultation, that Mr. Parris proceeded with Caution at the Commencement of the Troubles, and was anxious to ſeek Council and Advice. He likewiſe wiſhed to inform himſelf on the Subject of Witchcraft, and for that Purpoſe received as a Loan from Dea. Robert Sanderſon, of Boſton, a Copy of Perkins' Works, which treated upon that Subject.

We are among thoſe who believe Mr. Parris was honeſt in his Belief in Witchcraft, and that he was not moved in this Affair by perſonal Malice, or the Deſire to promote the Cauſe of Religion in his Pariſh, as has

been ſuppoſed by the Author of the Hiſtory of Danvers. We have not as yet, found a Particle of Evidence, that he entertained ill Will againſt thoſe who were accuſed and executed.

Mr. Parris, in common with his miniſterial Brethren, appears to have come, after the Confeſſion of Tituba, to the full Concluſion, that Witchcraft had broken out in his Pariſh, and that the Devil had commenced his Operations in his own Family; and as a faithful Paſtor, he ſhould not heſitate, for a Moment, to grapple with the Enemy.

It was in this Point of View, that we diſcover the Courage of the People of Salem Village, who were engaged in oppoſing what they conſidered the Machinations of the Devil—they ſuppoſing that he was the Cauſe, operating through the Agency of Witches, of all the Torture and Miſery they beheld, and that, by their Oppoſition, they were liable alſo to ſuffer from his Malignancy. They believed, alſo, that the Devil was about to eſtabliſh an Agency, or Kingdom in New England; and had actually commenced Operations in Salem Village. This, Cotton Mather, Parris, and others, were determined ſhould not be done, at leaſt if they could help it. There was ſome very ſingular Evidence given at the Courts on this Point. Ann Foſter, of Andover, a confeſſing Witch, teſtified at her Examination, July 21, 1692, "that ſhe was at a Witch Meeting at the Village, where there was a large Number of Witches preſent, and that the principal Diſcourſe at this Gathering, was in regard to the ſetting up of the Devil's Kingdom at the Village, and making it their Rendezvous!" And another confeſſing Witch teſtified, at a ſubſequent Meeting, that they had, by an unanimous Vote, concluded to ſet up the Devil's Kingdom at Salem Village—it being

thought, all Things conſidered, the moſt ſuitable Place to begin the Enterpriſe, and, by ſo doing, they were in Hopes it would ſpread over New England. This was ſolemnly and religiouſly believed by many, and it required Courage and Pluck to ſtand up and reſiſt the Deſigns of a powerful, malicious Being, capable, as they ſuppoſed, of tormenting them in various Ways, deſtroying their Cattle, &c.

Parris appears to have been very deſirous of preventing his Daughter, Elizabeth, from participating in the Excitement at the Village. She was ſent by her Father, at the Commencement of the Deluſion, to reſide at Salem with Capt. Stephen Sewall. While there, the Captain and his Wife were much diſcouraged in effecting a Cure, as ſhe continued to have ſore Fits. Elizabeth ſaid that the great *black Man*, came to her, and told her, if ſhe would be ruled by him, ſhe ſhould have whatſoever ſhe deſired, and go to a *Golden City*. She related this to Mrs. Sewall, who immediately told the Child it was the Devil, and he was a Liar, and bid her tell him ſo if he came to her again; which ſhe did accordingly the next Time the black Man came to her. The Devil, it would ſeem, unaccuſtomed, in thoſe Days, to experience ſuch Reſiſtance, and utterly aſtoniſhed at the cool Impudence of Betſy Parris, never troubled her afterwards; and,—although this Girl was one of the firſt Originators of the Witchcraft Deluſion, in connection with her Couſin Abigail Williams,—ſhe appears to have had, afterwards, but little to do with Witchcraft. This aroſe in Conſequence of following the ſage Advice of Mrs. Sewall, in getting rid of the Devil; or, what was more probable, in her Father taking her from the weekly Circle of accuſing

and bewitching Girls, and placing her in a very reſpectable Family in Salem.

It has been ſaid that Parris had a Rival in Rev. George Burroughs, who had Friends in Salem Village, deſirous of his Settlement; and that that was a ſufficient Reaſon why Parris ſhould appear at the Courts againſt him. We have never ſeen any Proof of this Rivalſhip between theſe Clergymen. It is difficult now to aſcertain the Cauſe of the Arreſt of Burroughs who was preaching at Wells, at the Time, in his Pulpit. The Girl who accuſed him of bewitching her, was Mercy Lewis, who was then living with Thomas Putnam. She formerly lived with Burroughs, when he preached at the Village; and, upon one or more Occaſions, he whipped her ſeverely. This we ſuſpect was the true Cauſe of her crying out againſt him.

It had been ſaid that Rebecca Nurſe was an Object of ſpecial Hatred to Parris; but this we have failed to diſcover. We cannot imagine the Cauſe of the alleged Complaint of Witchcraft againſt Rebecca Nurſe. She appears to have been an amiable and exemplary Woman, and well educated for the Times in which ſhe lived. We ſuſpect, from an Examination of the Charges brought againſt her at the Courts, that ſhe had ſeveral Times ſeverely rebuked the accuſing Girls for their Folly and Wickedneſs, when meeting in their Circles. In this Way, ſhe probably incurred the Diſpleaſure of Ann Putnam and her Mother—her principal Accuſers. Mr. Parris has often been accuſed of being over Officious, and a ſwift Witneſs againſt the Accuſed at the Courts. Parris could not be ſaid to have been a chief Witneſs in the Proſecutions, although he may be ſaid to have been a frequent corroborating Witneſs with his Neighbors. The chief Witneſſes were the accuſing Girls, as they were called. At the

preliminary Examinations before the Magiſtrates, Parris and others were required to be preſent when the Depoſitions were taken down, as related by the Girls, and afterwards made uſe of at the Trials before the Courts.

Theſe being given in and related by Children, and young Perſons, the Court required an Endorſement from ſome older Perſons, who witneſſed their ſuppoſed Afflictions, and could atteſt to their Depoſitions. It is in this Way Mr. Parris's Name, as well as his Neighbors, frequently appear in the Court Documents. Parris appears to have been frequently at the Examinations of thoſe accuſed of Witchcraft, and put Queſtions to thoſe on Trial. He alſo acted as a Recorder to the Magiſtrates more frequently than others. The Reaſon for his being often employed by the Courts was ſimply becauſe he was requeſted to do ſo, and was diſcovered to be well qualified for that Purpoſe. We have ſeen the Records of ſeveral Perſons thus employed, and ſhould ſay Parris's was the Beſt. It was his Practice to take down the Examinations in ſhort Hand,—he being a good Stenographer,—and then write them out in full, in a plain, legible Hand.

We have not been able to diſcover the Cauſe of the alleged Complaint of Witchcraft, againſt thoſe three excellent Women, viz: Rebecca Nurſe, Mary Eaſty, and Sarah Cloyce. They were Siſters, of a good Education, and fair Reputation. It is not to be denied, that the Part Parris took in the Trials of theſe Women, was the chief Cauſe of the Oppoſition towards him, and led at laſt to his Diſmiſſion from the People at the Village. His principal Oppoſers were the Relatives of theſe three unfortunate Siſters. Samuel Nurſe, a Son of Rebecca Nurſe, John Tarbell, who had married her Daughter, and Peter Cloyce, who had

married Sarah Cloyce. Theſe three Perſons, together with one Thomas Williams, after the Execution of Rebecca Nurſe and Mary Eaſty, and the Impriſonment of Sarah Cloyce, became much diſſatisfied with Parris, and ſought Advice of the Elders in ſome of the neighboring Churches, as to the beſt Mode of bringing him before a Council to anſwer for his Conduct in the Witchcraft Deluſion. They were Members of the Village Church, and had for ſome Time neglected Public Worſhip on the Sabbath, and abſented themſelves from the Communion. While theſe diſcontented Brethren were conſidering what Courſe to purſue againſt their Paſtor, Parris, either in order to divert their Proceedings from himſelf, or to adminiſter Diſcipline, on the 14th of Auguſt, 1692, cauſed the Church to be ſtayed, and entered a Complaint againſt Samuel Nurſe and Wife, John Tarbell and Wife, and Peter Cloyce, for abſenting themſelves from the Communion. This Complaint was entered by the Church, and Brother Nathaniel Putnam, and the two Deacons were choſen to be joined with the Paſtor to diſcourſe with the Abſentees. Much Time was ſpent by this Committee, in endeavoring to obtain Satisfaction from the offending Brethren;—while on the other Hand, they were ſtriving by all the Means in their Power, to bring Parris before a Council. At laſt, on the 16th of February, 1693, at a Meeting of the Committee of the Church, the Diſſenting Brethren gave their Reaſons for withdrawing from the Communion.

"Whereas we, Thomas Williams, and John Tarbell, and Samuel Nurſe, having a long Time gone under the Burden of great Grievances, by Reaſon of ſome unwarrantable Actings of Mr. Parris, as we eſteem them, and were proceeding in an orderly Way, to obtain Satisfaction from him, and had taken ſome

Steps thereunto, according to the Advice of ſome neighboring Elders. But obſtructive to our Proceedings therein, Mr. Parris and ſome Brethren of the Church, were appointed by the Church, to demand a Reaſon of us, of our withdrawing from Communion. The Regularity of which Proceeding, we do not underſtand, becauſe in this Caſe, we eſteem ourſelves to be Plaintiffs and Parties offended, and in an orderly Way, ſeeking Satisfaction, tho' hitherto denied. Our Anſwer to the Church is, that we eſteem ourſelves hereby prevented in our Duty, which we account a Grievance, ſeeing we were firſt in Proſecution of the Rule of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, laid down in Mathew 18 C., 15, 16 vs. Wherefore, if the Church give us the Liberty and Freedom of attending our Duty, as according to Rule bound, poſſibly then further Trouble may be prevented, or otherwiſe, the Caſe will neceſſarily and regularly come before them. But if they deny us the Requeſt, we ſhall, as in Duty bound, give the Reaſons of our Proceedings to the Church, or any others, when orderly demanded."

Parris ſays, in the Records of the Church, "that theſe diſpleaſed Brethren were told in Reply to their Communication, that they did ill to reflect on the Church, who, as alſo the Paſtor, were ignorant of their Methods, and that they ſhould have ſpoken with the Paſtor himſelf, before they went to conſult neighboring Elders. But to this Laſt they pleaded Ignorance. So we gave Way to their Requeſt of proceeding orderly."

On the 27th of March, 1693, the diſſenting Brethren handed to the Paſtor the following Document:—

"To our Paſtor and Miniſter, Mr. Samuel Parris, of Salem Village, and to ſome others of the Plantation. We, whoſe Names are underwritten, being deeply ſenſible, that thoſe uncomfortable Differences

that are amongſt us, are very diſhonorable to God, and a Scandal to Religion, and very uncomfortable to ourſelves, and an ill Example to thoſe, who may come after us. And by our maintaining and upholding Differences, that are amongſt us, we do but gratify the Devil, the great Adverſary to our Souls. For the Removal of which we have thought meet to proffer our preſent Thoughts to your ſerious Conſideration, hoping, that there may be ſuch Methods propounded, as may be for the ſettling and confirming Peace and Unity amongſt us, both at the Preſent and for the Future. And our Deſires are, that ſuch a Foundation may be laid for Peace and Truth, that the Gates of Hell may not prevail againſt it. And in Order thereunto, Solomon adviſeth Counſel; and our Deſires are, that a Council of Elders may be choſen, to hear all our Grievances between Mr. Parris and us, and determine where the blameable Cauſe is. And we hope, that their Wiſdom and Prudence may direct us to ſuch a Method, as may be for our Comfort for both Preſent and Future."

Much Time was ſpent by the Committee of the Church, in endeavoring to obtain Satisfaction from the diſſenting Brethren, while the Latter were ſtriving by all the Means in their Power, to bring Parris before a Council. At laſt, on the 16th of February, 1693, at a Meeting of the Committee, the diſſenting Brethren gave their Reaſons for withdrawing from the Miniſtry at the Village. They are the following.[18]

After the Paſtor had read the Charges againſt him, he brought forward his "Meditations for Peace." This Paper, having been conſidered at the Time as

[18] Being the Same contained in Mr. Calef's Part Third, are omitted here. See Vol. II, P. 140-3; or Pages 55-7, original Edition.

an Acknowledgment of his Miſtakes in the Witchcraft Deluſion, we have given it entire. It is as follows.[19]

Notwithſtanding the diſcontented Brethren continued to preſs the Acceptance of their Petition, for a mutual Council. Parris refuſed to notice it, and ſays, "I put it up in my Pocket, and told them I would conſider it." It appears, by the Records, that the Acknowledgment of Mr. Parris was firſt read before the Church, November, 18, 1694, in the Preſence of the diſſenting Brethren, when Tarbell remarked, that if the Paſtor had formerly made but *half the Acknowledgment he now had*, it had never come to this. It would ſeem that the Acknowledgment of the Paſtor was not ſatisfactory to the Brethren, and they continued to perſiſt in the calling of a Council. In the Meantime, Parris brought ſundry Objections, as he called them, againſt Tarbell and his Friends, which were read before the Church, November 13th. Theſe Objections, were as follows:—"Their precipitant, ſchiſmatical and total withdrawing from the Church; Their bringing forward a factious Libel to the Paſtor, conſiſting of Calumnies, or Reflections on ſaid Miniſter, and others of the Plantation; their impetuous Purſuit of the Miniſter at his Houſe, for Anſwer to ſaid Libel to his great Diſquietude; there reſtleſs Purſuit of the Miniſter, on the 14th of April, 1693, for an Anſwer to ſaid Libel; their perſiſting with great Heat, that their Charge might be read, yea loudly and fiercely before the whole Brotherhood, clamouring againſt the Church, and their publiſhing under their own Hands, in divers Places of the Country, ſundry Obloquies againſt the Church; their enſnaring ſeveral to join them in a Petition to his

[19] See Vol. II, P. 143-8, where this Paper is given entire.

Excellency and General Court, ſcandalizing the Church and Miniſter, as unpeaceable with their Neighbors; their withdrawing their Purſes, as well as their Perſons from upholding the Lord's Table, and the Miniſtry; their groſs Miſtake in their Letter to the Church at Malden, wherein they profeſs ſo much Diſſatisfaction with the Doctrine, Practice and Adminiſtration of their Paſtor, for above a Year, before the Date of ſaid Letter, as that they were forced to withdraw from all public Worſhip; whereas it is moſt notorious, that they were not wanting as to a Profeſſion of much Reſpect to their Paſtor, all along before, yea, and a conſiderable while after the breaking out of the late horrid Witchcraft." Theſe are ſome of the Charges brought againſt the three Brethren by Parris, and he informs us, "as ſoon as the public Reading of theſe Articles was ended, Brother Thomas Wilkins, in a ſcoffing and contemptuous Way, ſaid openly, 'this is a large Epiſtle.'" It would ſeem by the Records, that the diſſenting Brethren continued to make ſtrenuous Efforts to bring Parris before a Council, which was at laſt recommended by the Paſtors of the Churches in the Neighborhood, when Parris in his laſt Attempt to evade it, propoſed to give the diſcontented Brethren, a Diſmiſſion to ſome other orthodox Church, to which Tarbell replied, "Aye, if we could find a Way to remove our Living too." After a Delay of more than two Years, the Church conſented to call a Council, who met at the Village, April 3d, 1695. Dr. Increaſe Mather was choſen Moderator, and offered the following Report, which was accepted by the Council, and preſented to the Church:—1ſt, They unanimouſly declared that "we judge that altho' in the late and dark Time of the Confuſions, wherein Satan had obtained a more than ordinary Liberty to ſift this Plant-

ation, there were ſundry unwarrantable and uncomfortable Steps taken, by Mr. Samuel Parris, the Paſtor of the Church in Salem Village, then under the hurrying Diſtractions of amazing Afflictions; yet the ſaid Mr. Parris, by the good Hand of God, brought unto a better Senſe of Things, hath ſo fully expreſſed it, that a Chriſtian Charity may, and ſhould, receive Satisfaction therewith. 2, They adviſed the diſſenting Brethren to accept the Satisfaction, which he had tendered in his Chriſtian Acknowledgment of the Errors therein committed, and in caſe Mr. Parris finds after all, that he can not with any Comfort and Service, continue in his preſent Station, his Removal from thence, will not expoſe him to any hard Character with us. Having obſerved that there is, in Salem Village, a Spirit full of Contention and Animoſity, too ſadly verifying the Blemiſh, which hath heretofore lain upon them; and that ſome Complaints againſt Mr. Parris have been either cauſeleſs or groundleſs, or unduly aggravated, we do, in the Name and Fear of the Lord, ſolemnly warn them to conſider whether, if they continue to devoure one another, it will not be Bitterneſs in the latter End."

The Recommendation of the Council appears to have been ſatisfactory to the Friends of Mr. Parris and the Paſtor was reſolved to continue in the Miniſtry. At the ſame Time, the Report of the Council was unſatisfactory to thoſe Perſons oppoſed to Mr. Parris, as it did not recommend his Diſmiſſion; accordingly, on the 3d Day of May, 1695, a Paper, ſigned by 16 young Men, 52 Houſeholders and 18 Church Members, was handed to the Rev. Elders, compoſing the late Council at the Village, requeſting them to give Parris's Caſe a rehearing, and more plainly adviſe the Paſtor to ceaſe his Labors, and ſeek

to diſpoſe himſelf elſewhere, &c. On the 6th of May, 1695, in Anſwer to the Opponents of Mr. Parris, the Council ſent a Letter to the Paſtor, informing him of the Extent of the Oppoſition to his Miniſtry, and adviſing him to come away from his preſent Station, and unite in calling another Miniſter, and forgiving and forgetting all former Grievances.

Mr. Parris appears to have been nettled with the laſt Recommendation of the Council for him to leave his Pariſh, and ſays, in the Church Records, under his own Hand, that the Paper (in Anſwer to the Inſtrument and *claſſical* Letter from Cambridge) was brought by Deacon Putnam to the Elders, aſſembled at Boſton, at Mr. Willard's, May 29th, 1695, being the Day of Election after Dinner, when was aſſembled the Body of Elders, belonging to this Province. This Paper was addreſſed to the Rev. Mr. Increaſe Mather and others of the Rev. Elders, which lately met at Cambridge, under Date of May 20th, 1695, and ſigned by 53 Houſeholders and 52 Church members, all belonging to Salem Village. In this Letter, they ſay, that the Removing of Mr. Parris from his preſent Station will not unite us in calling another Miniſter. That they juſtly fear, ſhould he be removed, they would be left, as a Sheep, without a Shepherd. Therefore they deſire, that Mr. Parris may continue in his preſent Station.

The Council appear to have been at laſt fully ſatiſfied that Mr. Parris ſhould leave Salem Village, and they therefore procured a Pariſh for him in Suffield, and ſent two Meſſengers from that Church, to perſuade the Church at Salem Village to diſmiſs their Paſtor. Parris informs us, in his Church Records, that at a Meeting of the Church, held at his Houſe, June 3d, 1695, he acquainted the Brethren, that here

were two Meſſengers from Suffield, who were looking out for a Miniſter, and by the Deſire of ſome Elders in Boſton, made application to him, and was willing to go with them, if the Brethren pleaſed, and in his Abſence for a few Months, they might try if they could (with others who now diſſented,) unite in ſome other Miniſter. But, after ſeveral Hours debate, both with the Brethren, and ſome other Chriſtian Neighbors, they all declared an Averſeneſs to his Motion. Thereupon thanking them for their profeſſed Love to him, he told them, he was not free to go, without their Conſent, and ſeeing they would not let him go, he prayed for them *to keep him, and make much of him.* The ſame Day, June 3d, 1695, the Church ſent the following deciſive Letter to Rev. Increaſe and Cotton Mather, ſaying, "we cannot fault ye Intendment of our Brethren Sergent David Winchell, and Corporal Victory Sikes, Meſſengers from Suffield, ſent by yourſelves to obtain the Miniſtry of our Paſtor if we were ſo minded, as to part with him. But upon maturing together, this Day both of Church and others, to conſult that Affair, do hereby ſignify at the Deſire of the above Suffield Meſſengers, with unanimous Agreement, not one excepted—(ſave the Four known Diſſenters) we are reſolved—*God helping againſt ſuch a Separation during our ability to prevent it.* And our Paſtor tho' otherwiſe inclined, yet as unwilling to leave ſo many of his Flock, as teſtify ſo ſtrong Affections towards him. So earneſtly requeſting the conſtant Helps of your Prayers, and as much otherwiſe as you can, we reſt, worthy and much eſteemed Sirs, your needy Brethren.

SAMUEL PARRIS, Paſtor,
in the Name of the Church and other Chriſtian Neighbors.

To the Rev. Mr. Increaſe Mather and Mr. Cotton Mather, Jun., Boſton.

It does not appear that there were any more Efforts made by the Boſton Elders, to bring about a Reconciliation; and it ſeems that there was always a Majority of the Pariſh in Favor of Mr. Parris, remaining with them; and there appears to have been a very general Miſtake, with many Authors, in Regard to his Diſmiſſion from his People, they, ſuppoſing that he was haſtily driven away from the Village. Whereas he continued and maintained himſelf through a miniſterial Quarrel of five Years, until he ſaw fit to diſcontinue it, when he informed his Church of his Intentions.

There were three diſtinct Matters of Diſpute between Parris and his People at Salem Village. The Firſt aroſe previous to the Breaking out of the Witchcraft Deluſion, in Conſequence of the Neglect of his Pariſh to furniſh him with the ſtipulated Supply of 30 Cords of Wood per Annum. The ſecond Diſpute with the four Diſſenting Brethren of the Church, aroſe in Conſequence of the Courſe purſued by Parris in Regard to Witchcraft. The Third, was in Conſequence of his claiming the Parſonage and Lands, under a vote of the Inhabitants of the Village, and their Refuſing to pay him his Arrears due him, on his old Liſts of Rates. Theſe three Diſputes, cauſed a long and continued Quarrel, which at laſt attracted the People far and near—was a grave Matter for learned Councils, was brought before the County Courts, and was a Subject for Petition before the great and General Court at Boſton. After it was underſtood that Parris was to leave the People at the Village, and that he claimed the Parſonage, a fierce Quarrel aroſe between him and the Inhabitants, which was carried before the Court at Ipſwich.

The Matter, without being ſettled, was taken from

the Courts, and given to Wait Winthrop, Eliſha Cook, and Samuel Sewall, Eſqrs., and they decided "that Mr. Parris ſhould have ſome of his Arrears paid him, alſo a ſum of Money for his Repairs of the miniſterial Houſe, and be diſmiſſed from Salem Village."

It was during his greateſt Difficulties with his People, that he loſt his Wife by Death. This occurred on the 14th of July, 1696. She was buried in the Wadſworth burial Ground, in Danvers, where can be ſeen a gray Slate Stone,—a fine Specimen of the lapidary Art,—with its Lines as ſharp as on the Day when they were firſt cut, erected over her Grave, on which is the following Inſcription, with the Initials of Samuel Parris at the Bottom:—

> "Sleep precious Duſt, no ſtranger now to Reſt,
> Thou haſt thy longed wiſh, within Abraham's Breſt—
> Farwell Beſt Wife, Choice Mother, Neighbor, Friend,
> We'll wail the leſs, for hopes of the in the end." S. P.

After his Diſmiſſion from Salem Village he removed to Concord, Maſſachuſetts, where he lived in 1705; and 1711, preached ſix Months in Dunſtable. He died at Sudbury, February 27th, 1720; Mrs. Dorothy Parris, his ſecond Wife, died there on the 6th of September, 1719. The following are the Children of Mr. Parris:—Elizabeth, who was married to Benj. Barnes, at Concord, January 13th, 1710; Dorothy, married Hopeſtill Brown, of Sudbury, 1718, and died March 4th, 1725; Samuel, who was a Deacon of a Church in Sudbury, died November 22d, 1792, aged 91 Years; Noyes, graduated at Harvard College, 1721, was deranged, and ſupported by the Town; Mary, married Peter Bent, of Sudbury, April 18th, 1727.

[Eleven Years after the Death of Mr. Parris, the following Advertiſement appeared. Whether his Deſcendants acted upon the Suggeſtion contained in it, the Editor is not informed.]

"Any Perſon, who knew Mr. Samuel Parris, formerly of Barbadoes, afterwards of Boſton, in New England, Merchant, and after that, Miniſter at Salem Village, &c., deceaſ'd, to be a Son of Thomas Parris, of the Iſland afore ſaid, Eſqr, — who deceaſed 1673, or ſole Heir by Will to his Eſtate in ſaid Iſland, — are deſired to give or ſend Notice thereof to the Printer of this Paper; and it ſhall be for their Advantage."

[*Boſton News-Letter, No.* 1433, *July* 15*th*, 1731.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

WHEN this Edition of the *More Wonders* had paſſed through the Preſs, the Publiſher brought in the following ERRATA, which, it ſeems, had been inſerted in ſome Copies of the original Edition; and, although ſeveral of the Errors are quite immaterial, and others have been corrected in the Proceſs of Reviſion, yet it was thought beſt to inſert it here entire.

Mr. Woodward informs the Editor, that he copied it from a Copy of Mr. Calef's Work in the Library of the Maſſachuſetts Hiſt. Society, which once belonged to Dr. COTTON MATHER, and afterwards to Dr. Jeremy Belknap. Hence it is very probable that this Copy was preſented to Dr. Mather by the Author. However this may have been, the following Extract, written in Dr. Mather's own Hand in the ſame Volume, ſeems odd indeed:

"Job, xxxi, 35, 36. My Deſire is, *that* mine Adverſary had written a Book. Surely I would take it upon my Shoulder, and bind it as a Crown to me."

"Co. MATHER."

ERRATA.

[The Reference is to the Pages of the original Edition; being thoſe of the inner Margin of this Edition.]

THE Pages from 48 to 57 may be corrected with the Pen as alſo in the Preface 7 Lines from the End inſtead of uſe read me. P. 3. L. 17. f. furiouſly r. ſeriouſly P. 13. L. 2. f. fruitful r. faithful. P. 16 L. 3 from the Bottom f. me r. Mr. P. 18. L. 6. f. drawing r. chaining. P. 28. L. 13. the Word More to be left out. P. 49. L. 12. r. the Ancients did worſhip. P. 52. L. 9. r. the more nearly. P. 55. L. 14 f. unaccountable r. uncomfortable. P. 61. L. 26. after the Word propoſe r.

I. That if yourſelves pleaſe to take the Trouble with Patience once more to hear the Caſe and give full Liberty of proving, &c. to the Word Place.

P. 63. L. 3. f. proved r. procured P. 65. L. 25. f. dear. r. clear.
P. 85. L. 20. r. beſt learn. P. 93. L. 12. f. ſucking r. ſuckling.
P. 94. L. 22. r. Mercy Lewis. P. 98. L. 16. Nathaniel Cary.
P. 106. L. 31. r. up the Hill. P. 143. L. 8. f. flew r. fled.
P. 152 L. 26. f. that he r. he that.

ERRATA, *in the preſent Edition.*—Vol. i, P. 102, Note 114, f. credulous, r. incredulous. P. 110, L. 11, for on r. out. P. 189, N. 174, r. Dr. Felt. Vol. iii, P. 184, L. 1, r. James.

INDEX.

NOTE.—As the ſmall Roman Numerals in this Index denote both the Volumes and the Pages of the Introductions, thoſe who conſult it may obſerve, that when the Introductory Pages are referred to, the Reference to the Volume is in large or Roman Capitals:—For Example. I. xx. refer to the firſt Volume, and to Page 20 of the Introduction to the ſame Volume; II, xxii, refer to Volume ſecond, and Page 22 of that Volume.

ABBOT, Benjamin, 195, iii, 116, 117.
Abbot, Nehemiah, 191.
Abbot, Sarah, 196, iii, 117.
Acoſta, Joſeph, 201.
Addington, Iſaac, 26, iii, 15, 133.
Ady, ——, a Writer againſt Witchcraft, iii, 74.
Alcot, Job, appointed Counſellor, 26.
Alden, John, Jr., II, xxiv; tried and impriſoned, iii, 26; his Narrative, 26-8; Bail refuſed, 30; eſcapes, *ib.*; cleared by Proclamation, 128.
Alden, Timothy, iii, 177, 178.
Allen, James, 108, 151, iii, 40.
Allen, John, ſees one of the Accuſed fly in the Air, i, 177; his Oxen bewitched, iii, 93.
Allen, William, cited, 7.
Ambroſe, Iſaac, on the Devil, 56.
America, a ſquallid, horid Deſart, 13; of what Uſe is it, 46; ſome hopeful Symptoms of, 97; ever to be in the Devil's Hands? *ib.*; Spirits common to be ſeen Day and Night in, ii, 116.
Andover, People of, bewitched, iii, 117, 120, 121, 125, 126.
Andrew, Daniel, ii, 159, iii, 44; Joſeph, 105; Sarah, *ib.*
Andrews, Thomas, iii, 107.
Andros, Edmund, Sir, I, lxxxi.
Andrus, Silas, I, xcii.
Angels, evil ones, ii, 32, 43, 75; Notions concerning, 187-8.
Apparition, of thoſe Murdered, 34; of the Devil, 79; of Mr. Beacon, 136-7; Accuſers at Trials, 155; their Charges confeſſed, 188-9; Witneſſes, iii, 106.
Appleton, Samuel, 26, iii, 15.
Arnold, John, Jailor of Boſton, iii, 20, 179.
Arnold, Margaret, 145.
Aſhurſt, Henry, Sir, I, vi; Agent for Maſſachuſetts, iii, 148-9.
Aſtrology, injudiciouſly regarded, 122, 238.
Atkinſon, John, Witneſs againſt Martin, 178; Sarah, 184; John's Cow bewitched, iii, 94; Sarah, is amazed, *at nothing*, 100.
Attaballipa, his Fate, iii, 138-9.
Auſtin, ſweet ſpirited, 27.
Aves, Samuel, ii, 68.
Ayer, John, Jr., iii, 196.

BACHELOR, John, Apology of, iii, 135.
Bailey, John, iii, 40; Conſtable, 113.
Bailey, N., his Definition of Witchcraft, I, xiii.
Baker, ——, Siſter to Ann Putnam, iii, 11.
Balch, Benj. Jr., Wife Elizabeth, ſwears againſt Mrs. Biſhop, iii, 78.
Ballantine, John, II, xxii.
Ballard, Joſeph, iii, 51; Brother John, *ib.*, 113; Operations to diſcover Witches, 55; Witneſſes, 126.
Baptiſm by the Devil, Ceremony of, iii, 113.
Bare, John, Searcher for Witch-teats, iii, 39.
Barker, Abigail, ſigned a Recantation, iii, 57.
Barnard, John, II, xxi; prays at Witch Examinations, iii, 56.
Barnes, Benjamin, iii, 221.
Bartel, Robert, Capt., iii, 178.
Barton, James, II, xxiii.
Bates, William, Extract from, ii, 113-14.
Baxter, Richard, I, xx; on Memorable Providences, 10, 141; thanks C. Mather, ii, 43; quoted, 45; his ungainſayable Book, 86; cure of Church Diviſions, 111; commends I. Mather, 113; his Ideas of a Devil and Witch, &c., 113-119; his Work the Effect of aged Imbecility, 119.
Bayley, Mrs., Siſter to Ann Putnam, iii, 11.
Beacon, Joſeph, 136, 137.
Beale, William, ſwears againſt Mr. Engliſh, iii, 177-86; Son dies, 182, 183.
Belknap, Jeremy, referred to, ii, 85.
Belzebub, Works aſcribed to, iii, 163.
Bent, Peter, of Sudbury, iii, 221.
Benom, Miſtreſs, accuſed, iii, 130.
Bent, Mr., ——, iii, 100.
Bentley, William, D. D., on P. Engliſh, iii, 179-81.
Bereans, reference to, ii, 3.
Bernard, Richard, on detecting Witches, 45-6; Remarks on, ii, 12; Calef on, 56; how did the Jews manage without him, iii, 165.
Bibber, John, Witneſs againſt Giles Cory, iii, 172.
Bibber, Sarah, iii, 8; ſwears againſt Mrs. Nurſe, 11; againſt Mr. Burroughs, 62; againſt Cory, 170.
Billerica, People of, bewitched, iii, 118.
Biſhop, Bridget, Trial of, 163; what her Shape did, 164; her Coat torn while Inviſible, 165; her Poppets diſcovered, 173; Teats found upon her, 174; accuſed ten Years before, 208; long reputed a Witch, iii, 31; Executed, *ib.*; Copy of her Indictment, 74; others, 75-6; Trial of, 77-80; why called Oliver, 78; has a preternatural Teat, which vaniſhed, 88.
Biſhop, Edward, iii, 11; and Wife Sarah, committed, 16; why cried out on, 17; eſcape from Priſon, 49; his Sow bewitched, 81-2.
Biſhop, Samuel, iii, 49; had married a Putnam, *ib.*
Black-art taught by the Devil, I, xii.
Black, Mary, arreſted, iii, 16.
Blackmore, Richard, Sir, I, lxxvi.

Black Pig, one appears to John Louder, iii, 85-6.
Blazdel, [Henry?] 181, iii, 97.
Bligh, (Bly,) John, ſwears againſt Mrs. Biſhop, 167, iii, 81-2, 88.
Bligh, William, 173, iii, 76, 78, 82, 88.
Blount, Thomas, Definition of Witchcraft, I, xii-xiii.
Bocking, Jane, 142.
Bodin, John, Writer on Demonology, ii, 6, 117.
Bohun, Edmund, Licencer, I, cii.
Booth, Elizabeth, iii, 16, 204.
Boxford, Witchcraft in, iii, 126.
Boynton, Joſeph, ii, 151.
Bradbury, Mary, condemned, iii, 44.
Bradford, William, 26.
Bradley, Samuel, II, xxvii.
Bradſtreet, John, accuſed, iii, 52; makes his eſcape, 53.
Bradſtreet, Simon, 26, ii, 85, iii, 52, 145-6; Dudley commits accuſed, iii, 52.
Brattle, Thomas, Letter to, ii, 85-92; William, 108.
Braybrook, Samuel, iii, 7; accuſes Giles Cory, 170.
Bridges, James, iii, 126.
Bridgham, Joſeph, ii, 151.
Bridgman, Orlando, Sir, 141.
Brimſtone, horrid Scent of, 121; without a Metaphor, 122; a Flood of, ii, 4; uſed in tormenting, ii, 33; ſcalded with, 47; ſmelt in Margaret Rule's Caſe, 53.
Brinley, George, I, viii.
Brown, Hopeſtill, iii, 221.
Brown, William, Witneſs, 182; his Wife ſees Suſannah Martin vaniſh, iii, 99; ſome Devil bewitches her, *ib.*
Bunyan, John, I, xxi.
Burder, George, I, lxxix.
Burnet, Biſhop, 140.
Burroughs, George, (151) Charges againſt (153) childiſh Accuſations againſt (154) alleged Confuſion, 155; accuſed of Murders, 156; Ghoſts of his Wives, 157; his Promiſes to induce People to become Witches, 158; had the Strength of a Giant, 159; Treatment of his Wives, 160; puts on Inviſibility, 161-2; denies the Exiſtence of Witches, 162; Executed, 163; his great Strength from the Devil, ii, 9; further Account of his Execution, iii, 38-9; ~~Confeſſion of one of his Accuſers, 43~~; Indictment, 61; Trial, 63; Brother-in-Law to Mr. Ruck, 72-3; denies that there are Witches, 74; about his putting on Inviſibility, 123; Cauſe of his being proſecuted, 210.
Burrows, [Burroughs] Jeremiah, 84.
Burton, Robert, I, xxxviii.
Buxton, John, afflicted, iii, 17.

CALEF, Robert, I, xxix, lxxv; his *More Wonders*, &c., lxxvi; a ſingular Judgment upon, lxxxvii; little known of him, II, xii; a Sir John, xiii; his *More Wonders* burnt, xxi; Will of, xxiii; before Authority to defend himſelf, ii, 8; Viſit to Margaret Rule, 49; threatened with Arreſt for Slander, 54; propoſes an Interview with Mr. C. Mather, 55; Letter to Mr. C. M., 56-59; proſecuted, 55; explains his Belief of Witchcraft, 56; on the Power of the Devil, 58; complains of Mr. M.'s bad Faith,

60; not appeared againſt at Court, *ib.*; another Letter to C. M., 70-74; the Caſe of Rule further examined, 72, &c.; another Letter to C. M., 79-85; his Endeavors to clear the Accuſed, 78; expects Enemies, 84; will do his Duty, 85; Letter to Mr. B., 85-92; Letter to the Miniſters, 92-102; charges C. M. with being a Cauſe of the Witch Troubles, 92; his Anſwer, 93; his *More Wonders* denounced, 96; Letter to S. Willard, 102-105; another to C. M., 113; deſcribes the Perils to an Oppoſer of Witchcraft, 122; Letter to the Miniſters, 124-34; rebukes the Miniſters, 132-3; Letter to Wadſworth, 134-40; Expoſure of C. M.'s bad Logic, 136; Anſwer to Stuart, 186-198; on Angels, 187; accuſed of Blaſphemy, 202; another in Anſwer to Stuart, 207-212; Strictures on I. Mather's Agency, iii, 18 or 19.

Camerarius, living Library, ii, 6.

Carlton, William, II, vii.

Carrier, Martha, Indictment and Trial of, 194, iii, 113-121; horribly tortures poor People, 115; her Children ſwear againſt her, *ib.*; cauſes Sores, 116; pulls one by his Hair, 117; kills Cattle, 118; ſhakes Phebe Chandler, 119; makes Noiſes in the Air, *ib.*; ſeen at Witch-meetings, 120; goes through the Air on a Pole, *ib.*; at a diabolical Sacrament, *ib.*; a rampant Hag, 121; to be Queen of Hell, *ib.*

Carrier, Richard, 197, 199, iii, 117; afflicts one, 118.

Carrier, Thomas, 194.

Cary, Mrs., accuſed, iii, 11; ſent to Priſon, 20; Barbarity towards, 20-25; eſcapes to New York, *ib.*

Cary, Jonathan, [Nathaniel,] iii, 25.

Cat-rope, deſcribed, ii, 7.

Chamberlain, Edward, I, lxxvi.

Chandler, Bridget, ſwears againſt Mrs. Carrier, iii, 119.

Chandler, Phebe, 198; ſhaken by a Witch, iii, 118; her Legs ſeized on, 119.

Chandler, Suſan, 142.

Chandler, Thomas, Evidence, iii, 126.

Chapman, Simon, and Wife, iii, 107.

Charity, recommended, 28.

Charles, Second, iii, 143.

Charleſtown, Witchcraft Trials at, iii, 126.

Charms, by whom practiced, ii, 28.

Chaſe, G. W., *Hiſtory of Haverhill*, iii, 128, 196-7.

Checkley, Samuel, ii, 151.

Cheever, Ezekiel, Scribe, iii, 31.

Cheſter, Biſhop of, I, ix.

Chips in Wort, defined, iii, 126.

Choate, Thomas, II, xxvi.

Chriſtian, Philoſopher, I, lxxii-iii.

Churches, why often ſtruck by Thunder, 68-9; prevent Witchcraft, 130-1.

Churchill, Sarah, iii, 204.

Circles.—See Witch-Circles.

Clark, Mary, Examination of, iii, 195-7.

Clark, Samuel, his Story of the Devil's Appearance, 121.

Clavigero, [Francis Xavier,] 202.

Cloyce, Peter, proteſts againſt Mr. Parris, ii, 143.

Cloyce, Sarah, iii, 7, 53; Siſter Nurſe, 11, 13; goes out of

Meeting, 14; an excellent Woman, 211.
Colman, Benjamin, I, xci, xcvi.
Coman, Richard, 167; ſwears againſt Mrs. Biſhop, iii, 82.
Comings.—See CUMMINGS.
Connecticut, Witchcraft in, iii, 130, 131.
Cook, Eliſha, Judge, ii, 157; Agent to England, iii, 148, 221.
Cook, John, a Witneſs, i, 166, iii, 78, 80-1.
Cooper, Thomas, on Witchcraft, xxxv.
Corwin, Jonathan, I, vii, 26, iii, 6, 10, 15; examines Giles Cory, 169.
Corwin, George, Sheriff, iii, 49, 50; buried, 79, 187, 202.
Cory, Giles, preſſed to Death, 209, II, vii, iii, 7. 44-5, 79; his Examination, 169-173; Site of his Reſidence, 174.
Cory, Martha, accuſed, ii, 7, 9; ſent to Priſon, 10; ſentenced to Death, iii, 44; executed, 45; Ballad on her and her Huſband's Fate, 174-77.
Cotton, John, I, xxv, lxvi.
Cox, Mary, Irons for, iii, 20.
Croſby, [Anthony?] a Doctor, declares Hyſterics a Caſe of Witchcraft, iii, 100.
Cullender, Roſe, 142.
Cumbey, Robert, II, xxi.
Cummings, Joſiah, iii, 107.
Cummings, Iſaac, Witneſs, 192, iii, 105; his Mare dies, 111.
Curioſities, matchleſs, 201 210.
Cuſhing, John D., II, vii.

DAGGET, William, iii, 183.
Dane, Deliverance, ſigns a Recantation, iii, 57.
Dane, Francis, iii, 121; John, his Apology, 135.
Danforth, Samuel, I, xcvi; Thomas, ii, 109; iii, 15; Judge, 125; Services, 126; admoniſhes Mrs. Daſton, 128.
Daniel, Samuel, 26.
Daſtin, Goodwife, iii, 126; cleared, 127; but dies in Priſon, 128.
Davis, Silvanus, 26.
Dean, John Ward, 13.
Dee, John, Aſtrologer, 124.
Defoe, D., on the Devil, 102.
Delrio, on Witchcraft, I, xiii, xx.
Demonology, by King James, I, xx; its Character, xxi, xli-iii.
Demons, preſtigious ones, iii, 160.
Denmark, great Diſcovery of Witches in, 148.
Deſaguliers, J. T., I, lxxvi.
Devil, I, xi; teaches the Black Art, xii; how he creates Witches, xv; Nature of his Covenant with, xviii-xix; exiſts by God's Permiſſion, xx; the Principal in Witchcraft, but cannot be tried, xxvi; aſſents to good Offices, xxxvii; appears perſonally to Witches, liv; what he requires of them, lv; coming down in great Wrath, 1, 50, 54, 76, 95, 101, 117, 122, 135; owned N. England, 15; an Army of Devils, 17; many ſign his Book, 18; has made a dreadful Knot of Witches, *ib.*; his Juggles feared, 19; bid come out of a Damſel, 20; Speech of, 20-1; may repreſent an innocent Perſon, 21; darting Operations, 24; raiſes Storms and Tempeſts, 25; envies the Proſpects of the Country. 26; made us a troubled Sea, 27; gives us Shakes, *ib.*; com-

miſſioned by Witches, 29; tells many Truths, 31; Devil-ridden, 33; always leaves the Mark of his Covenant, 40; League with, 41; his Exiſtence not doubted, 55-6; Government among, 57; ſwarm about us like the Frogs of Egypt, *ib.*; Prince of the Power of the Air, *ib.*; Belzebub, 58; knows every Language, *ib.*; Degrees of Devils, 59; horrible Dragon, 60; a Tyger, 61; gets Liberty to make a Deſcent upon Men, *ib.*; Rendezvous of his Troops, *ib.*; his long Journey, 62; a Do-evil, 64; a Moloch, 65; prevents Diſcoveries and Inventions, 66; ſends Plagues, and Peſtilence, and Wars, 67; a Vulcan, 68; makes a horrible Tempeſt, 69; uſes a hot Iron, 71; his Wrath increaſes, is Prince of this World, 72; God ſwears at, 73; his Time almoſt out, 74; God's Command to, 76; makes Earthquakes, 77; his preſent Quarters, 79; his World, 80; incredible Droves of, 81; nibbles at the Heels of Saints, 83; the World his Country, 85; his Time nearly out, 88-91; his eldeſt Son, 89; alarmed at the Settlement of N. England, 94; an Eyeſore to, *ib.*; an antagoniſtic Force, 96; appears as a black Man, 102; his Law Book, 104; takes on the Likeneſs of harmleſs People, 106; permitted by God, 107; burning and ſooty, 109; in God's Chain, 110; baptiſes, 111; adminiſters the Sacrament, *ib.*; how influenced to come down, 114; the Way to out-wit him, *ib.*; we give Reſt to, 115; Sparks of Hell Fire flaſhing from every Side of, 115; on a Chimney in Germany, 116; throwing Stones there, and other Miſchief, 117; ſet on by the Wrath of God, 118; rattling of his Chains heard, 121; an Aſp, 122; infernal Dragon, 124; flies about as a Bird, 130; Children dedicated to, 131; a Whip for his Back, 132; forced to fly by a Woman behind the Door, 133; a Prince, a God, 134; afflicts with Diſtempers, 148-9; a black Man, 159; deſcribed, 171; one in a Meeting-houſe, 174; performs Baptiſms at Newbury Falls, 194; carries ſome to a Witch-meeting on a Pole, 199; appoints a Queen of Hell, 200; apiſhly affects divine Things, 201; his Proceedings among the Swedes, 216; diſcovered by the Author, 217; his Power, 218; Dog of Hell, 219; Serpent upon a Rock, 220; tempts with Friendſhip, 224; a ſpeckled Snake when he tempted Eve, 225; ſhoots cruel Bombs, 227; would burn all the Bibles, 229; a Throng of in the Author's Meeting-houſe, 230; he rocks Perſons to ſleep there, 231; hurried Jeſus to the Top of the Temple, 232; prevents Witches from uttering all the Lord's Prayer, *ib.*; a Nimrod, 233; can attack with Thunder and Lightning; raiſe Storms, *ib.*; a Goliah; dogs Miniſters, bad at quoting Scripture, 234; quotes it for our Terror, 235; plays the Preacher, 236; conſulting Aſtrologers is going to the Devil, 238; a Mountebank, 241;

to worſhip him is Witchcraft, 243; with lengthened Chains, ii, 4; commiſſioned by Witches queſtioned, 7; further diſcuſſed, *ib.*; 8; his Power to create Strength? 9; origin of the Belief in ſuch a Character, 11; a damnable Doctrine, 12; appears to an Indian, 25; prodigious Deſcent of, 26; his Size, Complexion and Voice, 29-30; his Power, 41; very uncertain, 42; "horrendous Operations," 46; got a Scourge for his Back, 47; not commiſſioned by a Witch, 58; denied, 76; can work Miracles, 74; his Bounds ſet, 76; cauſes Plagues, 79; does not know every Language, 80; his Teſtimony not to be regarded, 82; the oldeſt Sinner, 90; more about his Powers, 94-5; vaſt Numbers of, *ib.*; a Free-willer, 118; commiſſioned by Contract, 128; only commiſſioned by God, 130-1; no Father of Baſtards, 196; an independent Power, 201; reſembles an Indian iii, 70; deſcribed, 85; flies over an Apple-tree, 86; Depredation in a Meeting-houſe, 89; performs Baptiſm, 112; his Manner of Baptiſing, 113; vanquiſhed by Sir W. Phips, 158; commiſſioned by Witches, 162; meets with Aſtoniſhment, 209.

Douglaſs, William, I, lxix, lxx, iii, 125, 159.

Downer, Robert, Witneſs againſt Mrs. Martin, 180; tormented by her in the Shape of a Cat, iii, 96.

Dragon, makes Wars, 67; inſinuates Witchcraft, 124; a great Devil, 216; hard after Miniſters, 234; keeping Guard, ii, 79.

Drake, Nathan, Extracts from, I, xxxiii.

Dudley, Joſeph, iii, 145; preſides at the Trial of Glover, 153.

Dummer, Jeremiah, ii, 151.

Dunton, John, I, vi, viii, 217, ii, 109.

Durent, Ann, 142; William, *ib.*

Duſtin, Hannah.—See Dastin.

EAMES, Rebecca, condemned and executed, iii, 45.

Earl, Robert, on Margaret Rule, ii, 69.

Earth, recedes from the Sun, 75; filled with firey-flying Serpents, 81.

Earthquakes, the Work of the Devil, 77, 78; happening all over Europe, 91, 92.

Eaſty, Iſaac, committed for Witchcraft, iii, 16.

Eaſty, Mary, ſentenced, iii, 44; her Execution, 46; dies proteſting her Innocence, 46-48; an excellent Woman, 211.

Elimas, Sorceries of, ii, 171.

Eliot, Edmund, 181, 182, iii, 97-8.

Eliot, John I, lxvi.

Elizabeth, Queen, Witchcraft in her Time, I, xxxix.

Elliott, Andrew, Apology of, iii, 135.

Ember-weeks, what they are, ii, 116.

Enchantments encountered, 9-48

Endicott, Zerobbabel, 210.

Engliſh, Mary, committed, iii, 16; eſcapes, 50, 79; Teſtimony againſt, 126-7.

Engliſh, Philip, indicted, iii, 16; eſcapes from Priſon, 50; Account of, 177; an Epiſcopalian, 178; dies, 181.

Ethnics, Gentiles, ii, 119, iii, 164.
Evelith, Joſeph, Apology of, iii, 135.

FALKNER, condemned to Death, iii, 45.
Familiar Spirit, who hath it, iii, 166.
Farnam, John, iii, 126.
Farnum, [Varnum?] Ralph, 195.
Farrare, Thomas, iii, 185.
Faſt, appointed in Reference to Witchcraft, iii, 132.
Felt, Joſeph B., cited, ii, 109, iii, 20, 181.
Filmer, Robert, Sir, on Witchcraft, I, xvii-xx, xxv.
Firmin, Giles, 13.
Fiſk, Thomas, Apology of, iii, 36, 135.
Fiſk, William, iii, 135.
Fletcher, Benjamin, Gov., iii, 25; his Kindneſs to Fugitives from Witchcraft Proſecutions, 180.
Flint, Thomas, a Searcher for Witchteats, iii, 39.
Flood, a great one in the Connecticut, 29.
Fogg, John S. H., ii, 75.
Fools, made able Fortune-tellers, iii, 142.
Foſter, Ann, executed, iii, 45; her Confeſſion, 119-20; Remark upon, 208.
Foſter, Ephraim, Evidence in Wardwell's Caſe, iii, 126.
Foſter, Hannah, confeſſes being carried on a Pole to a Witch-meeting, 199.
Foſter, Jacob, iii, 107.
Foſter, John, firſt Printer in Boſton, 26.
Fowler, Joſeph, iii, 8.
Fowler, Samuel P., ii, 6; his Life of Parris, iii, 198.
Foy, [John?] Captain, 137.
Franckius, [Peter?] I, lxxvi.
Franklin, Benjamin, I, lxxvi-vii.
Freemen, and Non-freemen, iii, 143.
Fuller, Goodman, is killed by Witchcraft, iii, 64.
Fuller, [Jacob?] a Doctor, decides a Caſe of Hyſterics to be Witchcraft, iii, 100.
Fuller, John, iii, 11.
Fuller, Thomas, D. D., I, lxxvi-vii, II, 196.
Fuller, Thomas, iii, 199.

GALLOWS-Hill, where reputed Witches were executed, iii, 45.
Gallows-Tree, iii, 177.
Gaul, John, on Detection of Witches, 42-4; his Rules obſerved, 153; Remarks upon, ii, 12; Calef on, 56, 70, 178, 197; Mather on, iii, 64.
Gedney, Bartholomew, I, vii, 26; Judge, iii, 26; Conduct at Capt. Alden's Trial, 28, 30, 172.
Gee, Joſhua, I, xcvi.
Germany, the Devil on a Chimney there, 116, 117; Witchcraft in, ii, 197.
Ghoſts of murdered People appear, 155, 156-7, 209, iii, 106.
Gibbs, Barnabas, II, xxv.
Gidney, Bartholomew.—See GEDNEY.
Gill, Obadiah, II, xxi; William, a Searcher for Witchteats, iii, 39.
Glanville, Joſeph, deſcribes Unbelievers in Witchcraft, I, lxi.
Glover, *Goody*, executed, iii, 153.
Goblin, one deſcribed, iii, 85-6.—See HOBGOBLIN.

God, ſwears in loud Thunders at the Devil, 73; more abandons the World than formerly, 75; bids the Devil make all miſerable, 76; permits the Devil to come upon us, 107; has the Devil in a Chain, 110; his Wrath ſets on the Devil, 118; would have ſubdued the Devil if called upon, 120; ſwears in Wrath, 125; clucks to us, 130; a Dog of Hell barking at him, 219; the Devil ſuperior to, ii, 9; whether he commiſſions the Devil, 70; the Mother of, 82; leaves the Devil at free-will, 118; commiſſions the Devil, 130-1.
Godfrey, John, iii, 52.
Gold, Sam., at Mrs. Biſhop's Trial, iii, 78; at Giles Cory's, 170.
Good, Sarah, accuſed of being a Witch, iii, 6, 7; her Child alſo, 11; Chains for, 20; executed, 33; Horrors attending, 34, 187.
Good, William, iii, 7.
Goodall, Goodwife, iii, 8.
Goodwin, John, Children bewitched, I, lxxxviii; teſtifies to a Miracle, II, xxi; Baxter on the Story, 45; farther Note on, iii, 153.
Gould, William, II, xxiii.
Gowans, William, I, xciii.
Gray, Samuel, ſwears againſt Mrs. Biſhop, 166; iii, 31.
Green Lane, iii, 115.
Green, Mary, impriſoned and eſcapes, iii, 53.
Green, Thomas, II, xxv.
Greenſlett, John, iii, 64.
Greenſlett, Thomas, ſwears againſt Mr. Burroughs, iii, 64.
Griggs, Dr., iii, 8, 190; 205-6.

HADLEY, Deborah, iii, 107.
Hale, John, prays at Witch Trials, iii, 10; attends Examinations, 22; his Wife accuſed, 48; on Mr. Parris's Conduct, 207.
Hall, Biſhop, on the Devil's Prevalency, 112; on Aſtrology and Magic, 124.
Hanvoord, Goodman, iii, 11.
Happy Family, Origin of, 29.
Hardy, Thomas, his Snare of Deviliſm, iii, 102.
Harris, Benjamin, I, vii, II, 55.
Harrod, John, iii, 11.
Hathorne, John, I, vii, 26, iii, 6, 9, 15; Inhumanity of, 23; Examinant of Giles Cory, 169; of Tituba, 187; of Mary Clark, 195.
Hathorne, Suſanna, iii, 195.
Haverhill, Witchcraft in, iii, 128, 195, 197.
Hell, Toyls of, 19; Belial of, 22; Mad Dogs of, 27; Philiſtines of, 27; Maſtives of, 64; loweſt Depths of, 77; helliſh Rattleſnakes, 80; wild Beaſts of, 86; Ty-dogs of, 108; Adders of, 118; a little Portraiture of, 131; a Queen appointed for, 200; the Pilate of, ii, 27; Lions and Bears of, 43; lively Demonſtrations of, 47; Covenant with, 136; great Officers of, iii, 113.
Hemmingius, Nicholas, 204.
Herrick, George, ii, 109; Marſhal, iii, 11, 17; teſtifies againſt Giles Cory, 172.
Herrick, Henry, iii, 135.
Heyman, Samuel, 26.
Hiacoomes, a Chriſtian Indian, ii, 23.
Higginſon, John, I, vii, 201, 207; Examiner, iii, 126.

Hill, John, Capt., ii, 75; at Salem, iii, 27.
Hill, Zeb., a Searcher for Witch-teats, iii, 39.
Hinckley, Thomas, 26.
Hoar, Dorcas, condemned, iii, 44; Eſtate ſeized, 50.
Hobs, William, committed, iii, 16.
Hobbes, Thomas, ii, 201.
Hobbs, Abigail, condemned and executed, iii, 45.
Hobbs, Deliverance, Witneſs againſt Biſhop, 165; committed as a Witch, iii, 16; tormented, 80.
Hobgoblin, Witchcraft, iii, 137.—See GOBLIN.
Holland, Joſeph, II, xxii.
Hollingworth, Richard, iii, 179, 182; William, *ib.*
Holton, Benjamin, iii, 11; Sarah, Witneſs againſt Mrs. Nurſe, *ib.*—See HOULTON.
Hopkins, Matthew, 30.
Horneck, Anthony, 19, 69, 221.
Horſe-ſhoes, uſed by Conjurors, iii, 142.
Houlton, Joſeph, iii, 113, 203.—See HOLTON.
How, Elizabeth, 188; iii, 33; Indictment of, 104; Trial of, 105-113; Wife of James, *ib.*, 107; baptiſed by the Devil, 112.
How, John, 190; Witneſs againſt his Siſter, iii, 109.
Howe, John, Mr., iii, 139.
Howell, James, on Witchcraft, ii, 127.
Hubbard, Elizabeth, iii, 7, 62; ſwears againſt Mrs. Biſhop, 75-6; againſt Carrier, 114; againſt Giles Cory, 170; has Fits, 192.
Hudibras, on A. Roſs, ii, 126.
Hudſon, William, ſees Margaret Rule go up without Hands, ii, 70.
Hughes, John, iii, 7.
Huguenots, Note on the, 70.
Hunnewell, Richard, Lt., iii, 64.
Hunt, Ephraim, ii, 151.
Hutchinſon, Benj., Complainant, iii, 26.
Hutchinſon, Eliſha, 26.

IMPS, Employment of, 112; one ſinks a Ship; *ib.*; one appears like a Rat, ii, 35.
Indians, vaſt Herds of, 65; Efforts of Powawes againſt the Settlers, 94-5; one of great Strength, 159; under Conduct of the Devil, 207; Chriſtian, ii, 23; one tempted by the Devil, 25; Witches among, 75; Reaſon for, 117-18; Notions of Religion, 125; Covenant to adore the Devil, 136; practice Witchcraft, iii, 5; reſemble the Devil, 70; in Witchcraft, 185-95; two at Salem, 204.
Ingerſol, John, 163; Nathaniel, ii, 143, iii, 11; Witneſs, 15, 17, 199
Inventions, hindered by the Devil, 66.
Inviſibility of Witches, 204; Miſt of, iii, 160.

JACOBS, George, Executed, iii, 38; further noticed, 43, 50, 204.
Jacobs, Margaret, confeſſes, iii, 43-4; eſcapes Death, *ib.*
Jacobs, Mary, one of the Afflicted, iii, 8.
Jacobs, Thomas, Evidence againſt Bibber, iii, 8.
Jackſon, Doctor, iii, 183.

Jamaica, Earthquake at, 78.
James Firſt, his Demonology, I, xx; his Royal Nonſenſe, xxii; his Rules for detecting Witches, *ib.*; followed by Cooper, xxxvii; Effect of James's Book, xli; deſcribes what Witches can do, lii, liii.
James Second, 10, 92, iii, 131; Knights Sir William Phips, 137, 143.
Jennings, David, I, lxvii.
Jeſus, on the Top of the Temple, 232; on the Battlements, 233.
Jewel, Biſhop, [John,] I, xxxix.
Jewett, Nehemiah, ii, 151.
John, Indian, iii, 3; bewitched, 15; accuſes E. Biſhop, 17; his Wife Tituba, 22.
Johnſon, Eliza, iii, 126.
Johnſon, Samuel, defines Witchcraft, xiv.
Jolliffe, John, Counſellor, 26.
Judges, remarkably blind, 107; pitiable, 127; defer to Hale's Deciſions, 141; their Reaſon departed, 174.
Jurin, James, I, lxxvi.
Jurors, ſome acknowledge their Errors, iii, 134-5.
Juſtin, Martyr, ii, 10.

KEELING, Judge, a wise Deciſion of, diſregarded, 148.
Kembal, John, Witneſs againſt Martin, 180; ſhe bewitches his Cattle, iii, 96-7; ſees a black Cloud, and runs upon Stumps, *ib.*; Puppies appear to him, 98.
Keney, Henry, teſtifies againſt Mrs. Cory, iii, 7.
Kerſey, John, his Definition of Witchcraft, I, xii.
Keys, uſed by Conjurors, iii, 142.
Keyſar, ——, Daughter diſtracted, iii, 16.
Kimball.—See KEMBLE.
King, D. P., owned the Site of Giles Cory's Houſe, iii, 74.
Knowlton, Joſeph, and Wife, iii, 107.

LACY, Lawrence, Wife bewitched, iii, 120.
Lacy, Mary, 199; another, 200; Condemned and Executed, iii, 45; her Confeſſion, 120.
Lancaſhire Witches, 158.
Lane, Francis, Witneſs, 193, iii, 105; his Rails bewitched, 112.
Laplanders, Witchcraft among, 22, 108.
Lawrence, Robert, of Caſco, iii, 64.
Laws, againſt Witchcraft, remark on, iii, 125; repealed, *ib.*
Lawſon, Dedot, his Hiſtory, I, iv, vii, 156, 186; endorſes the Story of the Iron Spindle, 205; defends the Proceedings againſt Witchcraft, ii, 154-5; at Salem, iii, 7, 12; on Mr. Burroughs, 39; his Wife and Children killed, 64; Chaplain to Andros's Expedition, *ib.*; more about the Murder of his Family, 68; on the Devil's Baptiſm, 113.
Le Clerc, [Jean,] cited, ii, 212.
Legion, definition of, 56; of Devils, 218, ii, 95.
Leverett, John, Gov., ii, 108.
Lewis, Mary, [Mercy,] iii, 26, 75.
Lewis, Mercy, iii, 8; ſees a Man in White, 13; Witneſs againſt Mr. Burroughs, 62, 64; againſt Mrs. Biſhop, 75; againſt Philip Engliſh, 126; againſt Giles Cory,

170; Account of, 204; why ſhe accuſed Mr. Burroughs, 210.
Leyton, [Thomas,] Mr., of Lynn, iii, 185.
Loader, [Louder?] John, Evidence againſt Mrs. Biſhop, iii, 76.
Locker, George, Conſtable, iii, 187.
Lothrop, Barnabas, Counſellor, 26.
Louder, John, 170; ſees the Devil, 171; ſees a Black Pig, iii, 85.
Louis, Fourteenth, 93.
Lynd, Joſeph, Counſellor, 26.

MANCHESTER, a Spectre worſted there, 296.
Maniche, an Arabian God, ii, 125, 128.
Manning, Jacob, Dep. Marſhal, arreſts Mr. Engliſh, iii, 181.
Marſhall, John, II, xxviii.
Martin, George, iii, 97.
Martin, Suſanna, Trial of, 175; Execution, iii, 33; Indictment againſt, 89-103; caſt into a very ſingular Confuſion, 100; appears to John Preſſy, 101.
Martyr, Juſtin, ii, 10.
Mary, Queen of William Third, 92: Death of, iii, 131.
Maſcon, the Devil of, 59, 70.
Maſon, Stephen, Counſellor, 26.
Mather, Cotton, why charged with an undue Share of the Perſecutions, I, iii; lxxiv, lxxxv; his Faith in Witchcraft, v; his unfortunate Book, xxxiv; Memoirs of, lxv-xcviii; his Defence, 1-4; further Defence of the Proſecutions, iii, 59 61; Countermines the Plot of the Devil, i, 3; bedeviled, 80; condemns Aſtrology, 123-4; Pity for the Judges, 127-8; not preſent at the Witch Trials, 139; Rejoices at the Juſtice of the Work againſt Witches, 140; Horror at the Name of Mr. Burroughs, 152; believes in the Ability of Witches to put on Inviſibility, 162, 204; gives Unbelievers three Bones to pick, 205; ſome Miſgivings about ſhedding Blood, 207; Argument againſt Calef, II, xiii-xviii; Story of Margaret Rule, ii, 21-36; read many Books of Phyſic, 34; relieves M. Rule by three Faſts, 39; pains to reſcue the Miſerable from Lions and Bears of Hell, 42; thanked by Venerable Baxter, 43; tries to prevent exceſſive Credit of ſpectral Evidence, 44; his own Eſtimate of of his Labors, 46-7; Complaints, 48; Letters to, 48-62; threatens Calef, 54; has him arreſted, 55; fails to meet him, 60; Whittier on, 61; Letter to Calef, 62-8: brings heavy Charges againſt him, 64; People believe ſmutty Things of him, 65; Defends his Father, 66; offers Mr. Calef the Uſe of his Books, 67; Charges of Helliſh Witchcraft, 80; does not underſtand the Wiles of the Devil, 83; Thunder breaks into his Houſe, 86; defines a Witch, 90; a Cauſe of the Convictions, 92; his Anſwer, 93; Denial of Statements made by Calef, 96; does not diſtinguiſh between Miracles and Works of the Devil, 97; Arraigned by R. C. in Argument, 135-6; Meſſenger, 151; heavy Charges againſt Calef, iii, 32; Acquainted with the Wiles of the Devil, *ib.*;

Conduct at Mr. Burroughs's Execution, 38; Defence of the Profecutions, 59-61; Omiſſions, iii, 106, 109, 111; an Advocate, 122; his Account of Trials as faithful as others, 123; his Life of Phips anonymous, and why, 136; Defends it, 137-8, 140; ſtrenuous for a Reaſſumption of the Charter, 146; compares Mr. Calef to Satan, 151; the moſt Active of any in proſecuting Witches, 154; his contradictory Statements pointed out, 157-8; his Ambidexterity, 154, 159; his Relatives accuſed, *ib.*; ſincere and credulous, 161.

Mather, Increaſe, I, vi, xxx; ii, 12; prays with Margaret Rule, 51; Proceedings againſt Mr. Calef, 55; cited, 60; defended by his Son, C., 66; on the Devil, 90, 95; *Remarkable Providences*, 106-7; Meſſenger, 151; Defence about the Charter, iii, 18; Proctor's Appeal to, 40; Caſes of Conſcience, 58; Angelographia, 131; his Acts retold by his Son, 136, 141; his Ideas undergo a Change, 142; troubled by Fobb-actions, appears to King James, 145; his Reaſon for accepting a new Charter, 149; the bewitched *Eye*, 160; Moderater of Mr. Parris's Council, 216.

Mather, Nathaniel, iii, 139.

Mather, Samuel, Life of his Father, I, lxvii; Funeral Sermon on, xcvii.

Mead, Matthew, Mr., iii, 139.

Meeting Houſe, the Devil in one, iii, 89.

Memorable Providences, approved by Baxter, 10; a Work by I. Mather, ii, 12, 106-7.

Merlin, Ambroſe, ii, 196.

Mexico, Indians of, 201-2.

Middlecot, Richard, 26, ii, 151.

Millenium, near at Hand, 90-1.

Milton, John, I, xi.

Miniſters, why dogged more by the Devil than others, 234; Stars of Heaven, in danger of the Dragon's Tail, *ib.*

Miracles, one witneſſed, ii, 74; wrought by Men, 128.

Miſt of Inviſibility, iii, 160.

Moody, Joſhua, iii, 40; aids Philip Engliſh to eſcape from Jail, 179-180.

More Wonders, a vile Book, 96.

Morgan, Samuel, Searcher for Witch teats, iii, 39.

Mormons, reference to, ii, 81.

Morton, Charles, ii, 108.

NAZIANZEN, the Author like a, 28.

Newbury-Falls, Baptiſms there by the Devil, 194, iii, 112, 197.

New England, Loyalty and Religion in, 10; no Land ſo free from Vices, 12; once the Devil's Territory, 15, 120; broken in upon by an Army of Devils, 17; a Scandal feared from Witchcraft, 19; Province of, 20; ſtocked with Rattle-ſnakes, 25; little Hope of, from the Wrath of the Devil, 93-4; a howling Wilderneſs, 94; its Loſſes by Indians and by Sea, 95; Decline of Godlineſs in, 96; poor N. England, 109; People in the Belly of Hell, 110; pleaſes the Devil, 122; no People ſo baſely

deſpiſe the Goſpel, 125; haſt deſtroyed thyſelf, ii, 6; a Charter obtained, iii, 142; why Quo Warrantoed, 143; worſe circumſtanced than any Corporation in England, *ib.*; Revolution in, 144-153; Prodigies in, not a tenth Part related, 161.
Necromancy, who are guilty of it, iii, 166.
Noyes, Nicholas, I, vii, iii, 7, 9; at Alden's Trial, 28; Conduct at Executions, 34; his Firebrands of Hell, 48; at the Examination of Mary Clark, 196.
Nurſe, Francis, iii, 7, 198.
Nurſe, Rebecca, iii, 7, 10; Siſter Cloyce, 13; executed, 33; her Explanation, 36, 37; Siſter Eaſty, 46; why accuſed, 210.
Nurſe, Samuel, ii, 143, 159, 211.

OAKES, Thomas, Agent to England, iii, 148.
Ogilvie, John, Definition of Witchcraft, I, xiv-xvi.
Old South Church, Boſton, iii, 133; Miniſters of, in Witchcraft Times, 177.
Oliver, alias Biſhop.—See Bishop, Bridget.
Orton, Job, on W. Perkins, 38.
Oſborn, Sarah, accuſed, iii, 6, 7; Iron Chains prepared for, 20; accuſed by Tituba, 188.
Oſgood, Mary, Recantation of, iii, 57.

PACY, Deborah, afflicted, 142.
Pacy, Elizabeth, afflicted, 142.
Paganiſm, Popery, 52.
Palmer, John, his Book on N. England, iii, 144.
Paracelſus, [Auroleus,] I, xxxviii, 68.
Parker, Alice, a Witch, 208; Sentence to die, iii, 44.
Parker, Mary, condemned and executed, iii, 45.
Parris, Elizabeth, iii, 8, 209.
Parris, Noyes, iii, 221.
Parris, Samuel, Proteſt againſt, ii, 141-3; long and humble Acknowledgment, 143-8; Miniſters and Elders of the Churches recommend his Acknowledgment be accepted, 149-51; further Proteſt againſt, 152-3; the Elders' Plea for, 155-6; accuſed of ſwearing falſely, 158; his Account of the Beginning of the Troubles, iii, 3-4; ſwears againſt Rebecca Nurſe, 11; preaches, 14 appointed Scribe at the Examinations, 15; Examinations at his Houſe, 22; ſwears againſt Mrs. Biſhop, 75; Scribe at How's Trial, 105; at other Times, 127; at Cory's Examination, 173; Account of, 198-222; Family of, 203-4, 209; not an Enemy to Mr. Burroughs, 210; not a ſwift Witneſs, *ib.*; how his Name comes to be frequent in the Trials, 211; cleared by a Council, 217; but diſmiſſed, 218; Epitaph on his Wife, 221; his Death, *ib.*
Parris, Samuel, Deacon, iii, 221.
Parris, Thomas, iii, 198, 222.
Payne, Robert, Juror, iii, 127, 185.
Payſon, Edward, ii, 151; pleads for Mrs. How, iii, 106.
Peabody, John, Apology of, iii, 135.
Peach, Bernard, a Witneſs againſt

Mrs. Martin, 178-9; bites a Witch, iii, 94, 95.
Peaſley, Joſeph, Conſtable, iii, 196.
Pemberton, Ebenezer, ii, 15.
Pennington, Thomas, I, ix.
Perd, Margaret, ii, 50, 51; ſmells Brimſtone, 53.
Perkins, Thomas, Apology of, iii, 135.
Perkins, William, defines Witchcraft, I, xiii; his Rules queſtioned, xxxiii; Notice of, 37; his Doctrine of Witchcraft, ii, 12; Mr. Calef on, 56, iii, 165.
Perley, John, 193-4; Fence Rails bewitched by, iii, 111; Apology of, 135; Samuel and Wife, 105, 106.
Perley, Timothy, Witneſs, 192.
Pharaoh, Old, accuſed of Witchcraft, iii, 126-7.
Philiſtines of Hell, 27.
Phillips, Edward, I, xi; John, 26; Samuel, ii, 151; Evidence for Mrs. How, iii, 106.
Phips, William, arrives, 25; iii, 18; orders Irons for the Accuſed, 20; orders the Trials for Witchcraft publiſhed, 58; called Home, 130; how became Governor, 137; finiſhed his Life and Government together, *ib.*; a Pizarro, 138; harſh Temper, 141; had his Fortune told, 154; vanquiſhes the Devil, 158; his Relatives accuſed, 159.
Pike, Robert, 26, iii, 103.
Pithagoras, Doctrine of, ii, 118.
Pitman, Thomas, 206.
Pizarro, Sir W. Phips compared to, iii, 138.
Plagues, cauſed by the Devil, ii, 79.
Plaſtic Spirit of Witches, 204, ii, 88; a Nonentity hooked in, 90; Miſchief to the Devil, 96.
Plynyiſm, what it is, 204.
Pope, Joſeph, and Wife, iii, 8, 203.
Popery, revived Paganiſm, 52.
Poppets, uſed by Spectres, ii, 40, iii, 82; ſome found and deſcribed, 88; Remark upon, 124.
Porter, Benjamin, iii, 11.
Poſt, Mary, Evidence againſt Mary Clark, iii, 197.
Prayers, the great Artillery of Heaven, 132; a Whip for the Devil's Back, *ib.*
Preſcot, Peter, Dr., 196, iii, 116.
Preſſy, John, Witneſs againſt Martin, 184; ſees a great Light, iii, 100; his Heels are ſtruck up, 101; Loſs of Cows, *ib.*
Preſton, Samuel, 198; his Cow bewitched, iii, 118.
Preſton, Thomas, iii, 203.
Prince, Thomas, I, xc, xci, xcv.
Printing, not ſooner diſcovered owing to the Devil, 66.
Procter, Elizabeth, iii, 7; John, *ib.*; Mrs., cried out on, 15; John, executed, 38; Barbarity to his Family, 40; his Letter to Miniſters, 40-2; his Courſe to prevent Witchcraft, 204.
Procter, William, made to confeſs by Torture, iii, 41.
Prodigies, in N. England, not a tenth Part related, iii, 161.
Pudeater, Ann, ſentenced to be executed, iii, 44.
Pulſifer, David, 13, II, vii, III, 169.
Putnam, Ann, iii, 7, 8, 9; Witneſs againſt Mrs. Nurſe, 11; againſt Mr. Burroughs, 39, 62, 63; againſt Mrs. Biſhop, 75; againſt Giles Cory, 170; againſt

Mary Clark, 197; why ſhe be came an Accuſer, 210.
Putnam, Edward, ii, 143, iii, 7.
Putnam, John, Witneſs againſt Mrs. Nurſe, iii, 11; Mrs: Daſtin, 128; of Parris's Society, 198.
Putnam, Joſeph, ii, 159.
Putnam, Thomas, iii, 7; ſwears againſt Mrs. Nurſe, 11; Mrs. Biſhop, 75; Mrs. Daſton, 128.

QUINCY, Joſiah, on "Certain Propoſals," ii, 106; one ſided and dogmatical, iii, 19; on I. Mather's Diary, 136.

RAVEN, Story of one ſpeaking, 33.
Rawſon, Edward, iii, 16, 52, 197.
Rea, Joſhua, iii, 198.
Redd, Willmet, condemned to die, iii, 45.
Reed, Richard, iii, 184.
Rice, Nicholas, iii, 29.
Rice, Sarah, ſent to Priſon, iii, 29.
Richards, John, 26, iii, 30; Judge, 125, 128.
Ring, Jervis, 185; ſuffers from Nightmare, iii, 103.
Ring, Joſeph, 186; carried about by Demons, iii, 102; in a Snare of Deviliſm, *ib.*; hurried through the Air, *ib.*; taken to Helliſh Meetings, 102-3.
Ring, Robert, an Error, 186.
Robie, William, II, xxi.
Robinſon, George, II, xxvii.
Roggers, John, Witneſſes againſt Martha Carrier, 197; of Billerica, iii, 118; killed by Indians, *ib.*
Roſs, Alexander, Hudibras on, ii, 126.
Ruck, John, Foreman of Jury, 161, iii, 35, 72-3.
Ruſſell, James, 26, iii, 15.
Rule, Margaret, Story of, ii, 21; ſeized by evil Angels, 26; fell into odd Fits, 28; aſſaulted by eight cruel Spectres, *ib.*; bring her a red Book to ſign, 29; her Tortures deſcribed, 30; faſts nine Days, 31; ſtuck full of Pins, 32; Liquor poured down her Throat "as of ſcalding Brimſtone," 33; her Hurts ſoon cured, 34; taken up to the Ceiling and held there, 35; her Miniſter interferes, 38; gets the better of the Devil, 40; viſited by Mr. Calef, 49; his Report of her Caſe, 49-54; a Sweetheart in it, 51-2; Aves's Teſtimony concerning, 68; others, 69-70.
Rum, uſed in a Caſe of Witchcraft, ii, 51.

SABBATH, begins at Sunſet, Saturday, 223.
Sadducees, unbelievers in Witchcraft, 32; Baxter on, ii, 45; Miſchievous, 46; Witlings, 60, 61; Atheiſts, 108; Infidels, iii, 162, 163.
Safford, Joſeph, Witneſs, 189, iii, 105, 108-9.
Salem Village, Church Difficulties, ii, 140-3.
Saltonſtall, Nathaniel, 26, ii, 109, iii, 30.
Sanderſon, Robert, Deacon, iii, 207.
Sargent, Peter, 26.
Satan.—See DEVIL.
Sayer, Samuel, Apology of, iii, 135.
Scotland, Witchcraft in, ii, 7, 197.
Scott, Margaret, condemned to Death, iii, 44.

Scott, Reginald, writes againſt Witchcraft, I, xxxix; Extracts from, xlv-vii; has taken great Pains, lix.
Scottow, Joſhua, iii, 64.
Scribonius, Note upon, 1.
Sergeant, Mr. [Peter,] iii, 31.
Sewall, Samuel, 26, 209; ſubſcribes to the Truth and Accuracy of Mather's *Wonders*, 211, iii, 59; Judge, II, xxiv, 157, iii, 15, 31; Appointment of Judge, 125; Services, 126, 128; in Sorrow for the Part he took thoſe accuſed of Witchcraft, 133; a Referee in Mr. Parris's Caſe, 221.
Sewall, Stephen, Captain, iii, 209.
Sharp, [James,] D. D., iii, 151.
Shattock, Samuel, 168; ſwore againſt Mrs. Biſhop, iii, 76; Wife Sarah, alſo, *ib.*, 83-4; Remarks on his Evidence, 123.
Sheldon, Suſanna, 200; ſwears againſt Mr. Burroughs, iii, 66-7; againſt Mrs. Biſhop, 78; againſt Mrs. Carrier, 120; againſt Mary Clark, 196; Account of, 204.
Shepard, John, iii, 53; Rev. Mr., 185.
Sheppard, Rebekah, iii, 11.
Sherrin, John, iii. 105.
Sherringham, Robert, 150.
Sherwin, *Goodwife*, 191.
Short, Mercy, ii, 27, 37, 51.
Sibley, John L., I, viii; Mary, iii, 3, 206.
Sieves, uſed to conjure with, iii, 142.
Sikes, Victory, Corporal, iii, 219.
Simpkins, Thomas, II, xxv.
Slavery, a Divine Inſtitution, xvi; Effect of its Denunciation, 12-13.
Smith, James, II, xxiii, III, 203.
Snow, falls as Wool, I, lxxiii; ſome red, lxxiv.
Soam, John, his Cart bewitched, 149.
Sobieſki, John, King, 91.
Some Few Remarks, an Anſwer to Calef, II, xxi.
Sorceries, 122, 123; little ones, iii, 142; how known, 165.
Sow, one bewitched, iii, 109.
Spectacles invented, 66.
Spectral Sight, Pretenders to, iii, 166.
Spectres, how allayed, 30, 31, 35, 103-4; take the Name and Shape of Accuſed, 106; call upon People before Death, 109; pranks with an Iron Spindle, 205; ſevere Scuffle with one, 206; "Eight Cruel ones" aſſault Margaret Rule, ii, 28; "Curſed ones" bring a Book to ſign, 29; Threats of, 34; they ſteal a Will, *ib.*; heard to clap their Hands, 35; Caution about, 44; one cruelly aſſaults a Perſon, [Margaret Rule,] iii, 160.
Spencer, Edmund, a Witch deſcribed by, I, xlix.
Spencer, Richard, Witneſs, 150.
Spindle, Story of one, 205, iii, 160.
Spirits, white ones, ii, 37; one appears to Margaret Rule, 39.
Sprague, Martha, bewitched, iii, 126.
Stacy, William, 172, iii, 86-7, 76, 86-7.
Star, Margaret, II, xxv.
Stephens, Lieutenant, iii, 53; Siſter of, 54.
Stoughton, William, commends the *Wonders*, &c., 5-6; of unſpotted Fidelity, 26; declares Mather's

Wonders true, 211; commiſſions Judges, iii, 30; atteſts to the Truth of Mather's *Wonders*, 59; ſigns the Death Warrant of Mrs. Biſhop, 80; his Appointment, 125; Services, 126.
Stuart, one, Letter in Defence of Witchcraft, ii, 160-186; another, 198-207; on Blaſphemy, 202.
Swan, Timothy, afflicted, iii, 196.
Swedeland, Witchcraft in, 108, 211.
Swinnerten, John, II, xxv.
Sydney, Henry, Lord, iii, 149.
Symons, Edward, 9.

TALBOT, Lord, cauſes the Repeal of Witchcraft Laws, iii, 125.
Tarbell, John, ii, 143, 159, iii, 199, 211, 215.
Taylor, Zachary, A. M., I, ix.
Teats, on Witches, ii, 57.—See WITCHTEATS.
Thacher, Peter, I, xcvii.
Thompſon, Agnes, Confeſſion of, I, xli-ii.
Thornton, Thomas, teſtifies to the Performances of Margaret Rule, ii, 69-70.
Thyaneus, Appolonius, ii, 70.
Tillotſon, Archbiſhop, 56; aids Dr. Mather, iii, 149.
Tituba, practices Witchcraft, iii, 6; Note on her Examination, 22; Examination in full, 178-95; a South American Indian, 200.
Tockinoſh, John, ii, 23.
Tompſon, Benjamin, I, xcv.
Toothaker, Allin, 196; Family of, 197; abuſed by a Witch, iii, 117.
Torry, Samuel, ii, 151; William, *ib.*
Tranſubſtantiation, as old as the Devil, ii, 200-1.
Traſk, John, his Wife killed by Witchcraft, iii, 79.
Trithemius, Fancies of, iii, 164.
Tupper, Samuel, ii, 26; Thomas, *ib.*
Tyler, Hannah, Recantation of, iii, 57.
Tyler, Jobe, Depoſition concerning Witchcraft, iii, 52.
Tyler, John, II, xxiv.
Tyler, Mary, ſigns a Recantation, iii, 57, 197.
Tyng, Eleazer, II, xxvii.

USHER, Hezekiah, accuſed, iii, 196.

VAN Helmont, Jean, Baptiſt, ii, 41.
Varnum, [Farnum,] Ralph, 195.
Vibber.—See BIBBER.
Virgin Mary, Mother of God, ii, 82.
Vitzlipultili, an Indian Idol, 201.

WADSWORTH, Benjamin, Letter to, ii, 134, 135; Timothy, xxi.
Walcutt, John, Witneſs, iii, 113.
Walcutt, Jonathan, iii, 15; Mary, ii, 158, iii, 8, 26, 62, 170, 195, 205.
Waldron, Abigail, iii, 79.
Waldron, Nathaniel, iii, 79.
Waldron, William, I, xcvii.
Waller, Edmund, I, lxxxi.
Walley, John, i, 26, ii, 151.
Walter, Nehemiah, ii, 108.
Ward, Nathaniel, i, 13.
Wardwell, Samuel, condemned, iii, 45; Scene at his Execution, 46,

57; his Wife executed, 125; he covenants with the Devil, 126.
Warner, Daniel, teſtifies in Favor of Mrs. How, iii, 107.
Warren, Mercy, an Accuſer, iii, 16, 26, 62, 204.
Watkins, Mary, had been a Servant, iii, 128; ſold into Slavery, 129.
Watts, Iſaac, I, lxvii, lxxvi.
Way, Aaron, ii, 143; William, *ib.*
Webber, Samuel, ſwears in Mr. Burroughs's Caſe, ii, 9, iii, 63.
Webſter, Noah, Definition of Witchcraft, I, xiv.
Welch, Edward, a Searcher for Witchteats, iii, 39.
Wendell, Edward, II, xxvii.
Wentworth, Samuel, II, xxiv.
Weſt, Abigail, II, xxv.
Weſt, Thomas, Searcher for Witchteats, iii, 39.
Wheeler, Thomas, II, xxiii.
Whetford, ——, 208.
Whiſton, William, I, lxxvi.
Whittier, J. G., on C. Mather, ii, 61, 160, iii, 163, 167, 174.
Wiggleſworth, M., his Day of Doom, ii, 4.
Wild, John, iii, 16; his Wife Sarah, *ib.*; executed, iii, 33.
Wild, ——, Captain, i, 137.
Wilds, Ephraim, Conſtable, iii, 105.
Wilkins, John, on Margaret Rule, ii, 69.
Wilkins, Richard, ii, 55, 56.
Wilkins, Thomas, ii, 143, iii, 216.
Willard, John, executed, iii, 38, 39; Eſcape and Capture, 40.
Willard, Samuel, Letter to, ii, 102, 151; cried out of, iii, 37; appeal to by Procter, 40; his Agency in the Eſcape of Mr. Engliſh, 177-8.
Willard, Simon, teſtifies in Mr. Burroughs's Caſe, iii, 64.
William and Mary, I, lxxxiv, 25; Death of Mary, iii, 131.
Williams, Abigail, ii, 156, 158, iii, 7, 8, 9; at the Devil's Sacrament, 13; cries out on Capt. Alden, 26; of Mrs. Biſhop, 75; Mr. Cory, 170, 179; Account of, 204; one of the Originators of the Witchcraft Deluſion, 209.
Williams, Daniel, on Margaret Rule, ii, 69.
Williams, Nathaniel, a Committee on Salem Affairs, ii, 151.
Williams, Thomas, oppoſes Mr. Parris, iii, 212.
Wilſon, John, of Boſton, 7.
Wilſon, Sarah, accuſed, iii, 57.
Winchell, David, Sergent, iii, 219.
Winſor, Hannah, iii, 26.
Winthrop, Adam, Counſellor, 26.
Winthrop, Wait, 26, ii, 157, iii, 30; Judge, 125, 221.
Witchcraft, Cauſe of its Decline, I, iv; Works upon, v-x; Definitions of, xi-xvi; taught in the Bible, xvi; how People's Eyes were opened, xvii; how carried on, xxii; Practiced through Images or Pictures, *ib.*; Laws reſpecting, xxiv-v; the Bible upon, xvi, xxvii; Ideas reſpecting, xxviii; oppoſed only by Infidels, xxix; Origin of, xxxi; the Queſtion which ſtayed its Progreſs, xxxii; Works upon, xxxiv-viii; Law againſt, xxxix, xliii; not Spiritualiſm, lx; at the preſent Day, lxxv; came near blowing up all the Churches, 17; Storms of, 20; thorny Buſineſs, 29; will not be ſhammed, 34; diſ-

poſed of, 42; in Lapland, 68-9; flouriſhes where are no Churches, 130-1; to worſhip the Devil, 243; a Relict of Heathen Learning, ii, 11; a principal eccleſiaſtical Engine, 12; further defined, 56-7; how Proſecutions were eventually checked, 110-11; ſenſible and evident, 105; Laws made againſt, iii, 124; repealed in England, 125; a Hobgoblin Monſter, 137.

Witchteats, for the Devil to ſuck, ii, 57, 100; a horrid Barbarity to ſearch for, 132; Excreſcences, iii, 124.

Witches, how made, I, xv; Nature of their Covenant with the Devil, xxiii; the Devil a Slave to, xix; exiſt by God's Permiſſion, xx; how to detect, xxiii; vaſt Numbers executed, xv, xxvii; Puniſhment impoſſible,, xxxi; good Witches, xxxvii; one deſcribed by Spencer, xlix; different Kinds, l, lii; how they contract with the Devil, liv-v; Manner of living, lvi-viii; the Devil has made a dreadful Knot of, 18; prodigious Meetings of, 19; commiſſion the Devil, 29; Way of diſcovering, 37; Confeſſions and Practices, 103; fairly executed, 107; Executions of, in Suffolk and Eſſex, 112; thorny Buſineſs, 114; firey Serpents, 124; in Denmark, 148; Witches impeach Witches, 157; Symptoms of Guilt, 162; Conduct after the Manner of Congregational Churches, 202-3; by applying the *Plaſtic Spirit*, render themſelves and Tools inviſible, 204; Cauſe of Suicides, 207; nineteen executed, 217; can't ſay the Lord's Prayer, 232; their Power to commiſſion Devils Queſtioned, ii, 7; Scriptures do not deſcribe it, *ib.*, 8; commiſſion Devils? 76; drive a Trade of commiſſioning, 80-1; let fly Demons, 81; turn into Cats, Dogs, and Cattle, 127; a Witch not known to Reaſon, 138; can commiſſion Devils, 139; of Lancaſhire, reference to, iii, 69; ſteal Liquor, 110; ſome goe on a Pole to a Witch-meeting, 120.

Witch-Circles, held by young Girls, iii, 208; Origin of the Salem Troubles, *ib.*, 209-10.

Witch-Hill, where the Execution of thoſe accuſed of Witchcraft were executed, iii, 45.

Wizard, a Witch, I, xii, xxxviii; reveals the Witch by the Devil's Help, 40; the Soul that goeth a whoring after, ii, 154.

Wood, Martha, Witneſs, 192, iii, 110.

Woodbury, Abigail, iii, 79.

Woodward, John, I, lxxvi.

Woodward, W. E., I, viii, x-xvi.

Wolcott.—See Walcutt.

Wool, Pall of, as Snow, I, lxxiii.

Wyllys, Edward, II, xii.

FINIS.

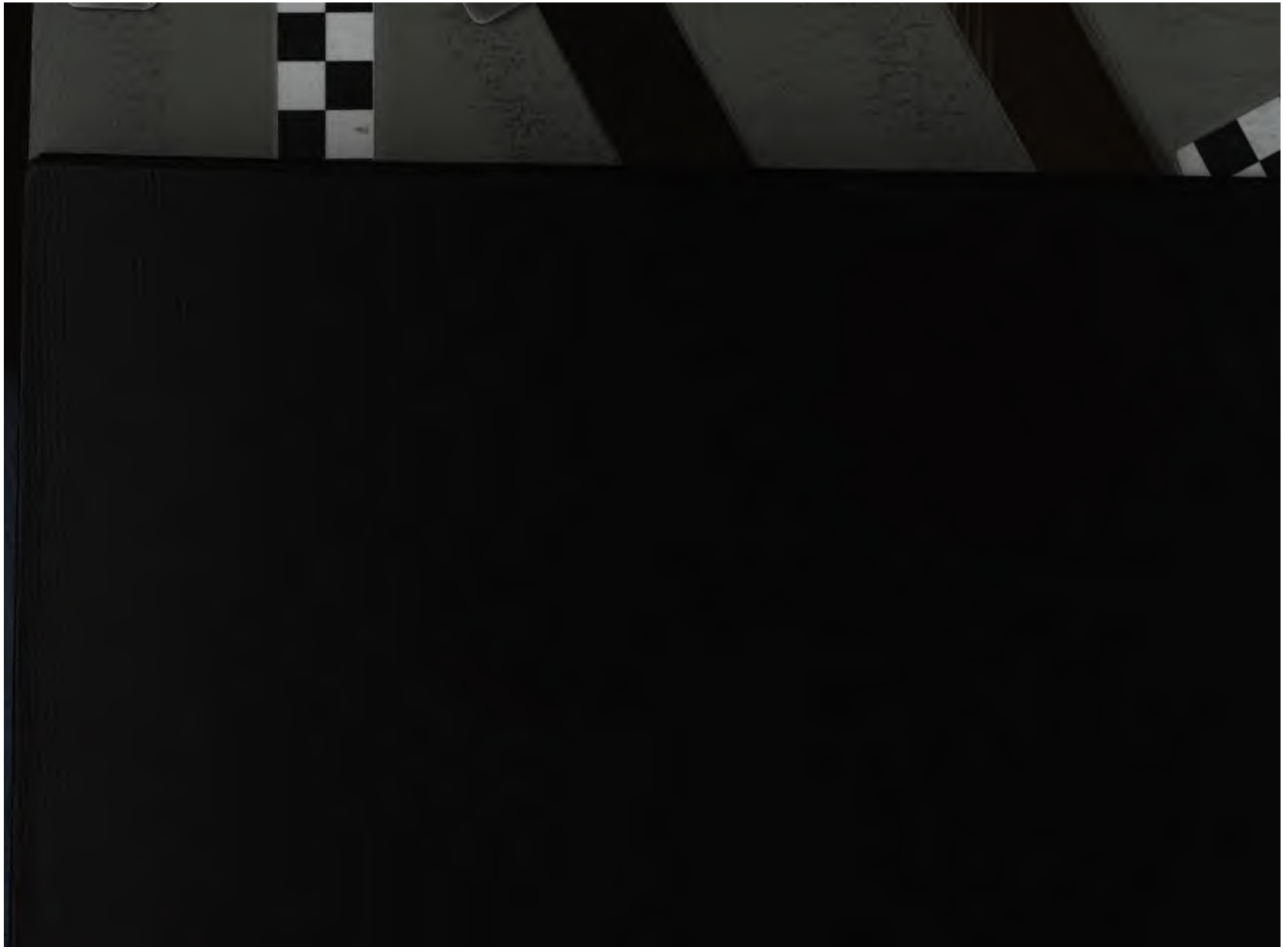
avoid fine, this book should be returned on
or before the date last stamped below
50M-12-60

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

3 6105 010 445 174

IBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERS
RSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD
ARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY
NFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
TANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARI
NIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANF
IBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERS
RSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNI
ARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIE
NFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · ST
TANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES ·
NIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD
IBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY
RSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNI
ARIES · STANFORD UNIVERS

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
STANFORD AUXILIARY LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-9201
All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

APR 24 1999
APR 24 1999
SEP 22 1999
JUN 10 1999